

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

CONTENTS FOR AUGUST, 1926

A Golf Champion	<i>Frontispiece</i>	Twelve Years After	148
		By FRANK H. SIMONDS	
The Progress of the World—			
Government as a "Growing Industry".....	115	Leadership in the House	159
Are We Hiring Too Many Officials?.....	115	By WILLIAM HARD	
Congress as a Board of Directors.....	116	The Growing Cost of Government	165
Failure to Apportion Seats.....	116	By JOHN Q. TILSON	
The Workers and the Talkers.....	116	Have Forecasters Averted a Depression?	169
Two Types of Chairmen.....	117	By DAVID FRIDAY	
Porter and the Senate Chairman.....	117	Saving Niagara from Suicide	173
Mr. Dawes and Senate Practices.....	118	By OTTO WILSON	
Non-Partisan Achievements.....	118	The Philippine Islands	177
Parties and Farm Relief Proposals.....	119	By D. R. WILLIAMS	
New Laws, Made and Delayed.....	119	Some Facts about the Philippines	181
Aviation Supported.....	120	American Snakes and Brazilian Serums	184
Several Worthy Enactments.....	120	Brazil from Within	189
The Radio Regulation Measure.....	121	By HELIO LOBO	
River Work Assured.....	121	School-Building in Alabama	193
New York Route to be Surveyed.....	122	By RICHARD WOODS EDMONDS	
Foreign Debts and Funding Agreements...	122	Leading Articles of the Month—	
Revision of Government Machinery.....	122	Canadian Nationalism.....	199
Neglect of Needed Reforms.....	122	Thomas Jefferson—Paleontologist.....	200
Primaries under Criticism.....	123	Bolívar and Pan-Americanism.....	201
Campaign Funds in Question.....	123	Effect of Crime News upon Public Opinion..	202
Cleaning up the Public Service.....	124	Aerial Armament and Disarmament.....	203
Congress and Prohibition.....	124	Mussolini as Prophet of the Pragmatic Era..	204
The Press and the "Wet" Propaganda.....	125	The Eisteddfod and the Bards of Wales....	205
Surprising Effects of the Law.....	125	Colonization in Greenland.....	206
Investigating the Anti-Saloon League.....	126	An American Year in British Golf.....	207
How the "Drys" Spent Millions.....	127	Britain and America Exchange Compli-	
Work of the State Department.....	129	ments.....	209
Farmers and Politics.....	129	Abraham Lincoln as a Lawyer.....	210
A Rejected Compromise.....	129	Health Organizations of the League.....	211
Coolidge Keeps His Hold.....	129	Association of Young Catholics of France..	212
New York's Senator and the Drys.....	130	What to Do About Loyal Alumni?.....	213
Sanity in Republican Politics.....	130	The College of France.....	214
Wanted, a Philippine Policy.....	131	A New Socialism in Sweden.....	214
Should We Abandon the Islands?.....	131	Psychology of the Workshop.....	215
The Business Outlook.....	132	The Motor Bus Versus the Trolley.....	216
The Textile Trade in the Doldrums.....	133	Douglas and the Douglas Fir.....	218
Uneven Railroad Prosperity.....	133	The Preservation of Minnehaha Falls.....	219
Railroad Stocks Booming, Too.....	133	What Farm Women Want.....	220
The Federal Program for Economy.....	134	The Page School of International Relations.	221
Our Total Wealth To-day.....	134	The New Books	222
Uncle Sam's Ships for Sale.....	134		
Canada Electing a Parliament.....	135		
Functions of the British Governor-General.	135		
Europe in Transition.....	136		
America and Foreign Politicians.....	136		
The Month's Obituary.....	136		
The Gist of a Month's News	137		
The Mid-Summer Season, in Cartoons	142		
Investment Questions and Answers	Page 6, advertising section		

TERMS:—Issued monthly, 35 cents a number, \$4.00 a year in advance in the United States and Canada. Elsewhere \$5.00. Entered at New York Post Office as second-class matter. Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office Department, Ottawa, Canada. Subscribers may remit to us by post-office or express money orders, or by bank checks, drafts, or registered letters. Money in letters is sent at sender's risk. Renew as early as possible in order to avoid a break in the receipt of the numbers. Bookdealers, Postmasters and Newsdealers receive subscriptions.

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CORPORATION, 55 Fifth Avenue, New York

Publishers of THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS and THE GOLDEN BOOK MAGAZINE

ALBERT SHAW, Pres. CHAS. D. LANIER, Sec. and Treas.



A SPORT-LOVING AMERICA WELCOMES HOME THE GEORGIA BOY WHO WON THE GOLF CHAMPIONSHIP OF GREAT BRITAIN

(The successful invasion of the British Isles by a group of American golfers is referred to more in detail on page 207 of this number. The achievement of beating the British at their own game attracted wide attention. This picture shows some of the American players at New York, upon their return. In the front row, from left to right, are: Al Watrous, Watts Gunn, Mayor James J. Walker, Robert Jones, Walter Hagen, Robert Jones, Sr., and Joseph Johnson, Commissioner of Public Works. "Bobby" Jones, of Atlanta, won the open championship of Great Britain, and then came home to win the American golfing championship as well. Besides possessing extraordinary skill at his favorite game, this Atlanta boy has a rare ability to win friends and admirers)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LXXIV.

NEW YORK, AUGUST, 1926

No. 2

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

Government as a "Growing Industry" In an article that we are publishing in the present number, the business of government is characterized as our "fastest growing industry." The author of this article is the Hon. John Q. Tilson, of Connecticut, majority leader of the House of Representatives at Washington, who is one of the most capable public men now engaged in this expanding business that he characterizes in the phrase just quoted. Some years ago, when the biennial cost of the Federal Government had reached a billion dollars, a well-known optimist in Congress argued, as against critics who were denouncing public extravagance, that this was a "billion dollar country." Since that time we have grown in population and in national wealth; but governmental expenditures have increased far more rapidly than either. Mr. Tilson does not take a cheerful view of the mounting costs of government, and has no apologies to offer for the tendency to enlarge the functions and add to the salaried personnel of the organizations through which we carry on our official enterprises. Mr. Tilson's article comes as a timely summary of past experiences and present-day conditions, and it is well worth reading, as the Sixty-ninth Congress has completed the longer of its two regular sessions, and as we enter upon the season of campaigning for the election of the Seventieth Congress on November 2.

Are We Hiring Too Many Officials? Mr. Tilson finds that we have reached a point where for every ten persons employed in private enterprise we are supporting one person compensated in some manner out of public funds. The total expenditures of governmental agencies of all kinds—na-

tional, State, municipal and local—are rapidly approaching the figure of ten billion dollars a year. More than half of this amount is paid in compensation of officials and employees and to support public dependents. It is true that for several years after the Great War we reduced rapidly the swollen volume of federal outlay; but, as Mr. Tilson shows, we have reached the limit so far as the demobilizing of civil employees is concerned, and have begun again gradually to increase the army of officials. Meanwhile, the States and their minor divisions are enormously expanding their outlays and their lists of civil servants. It is evident that if we are to practice economy and to keep the business of government from becoming a ruinous burden instead of a helpful adjunct of our life as a people, we must exercise both discrimination and vigilance. To accomplish results in keeping the government in its true place, we are obliged to act through the government itself. If Congress shows a tendency to expend money with undue freedom and to levy oppressive taxes, it is to Congress that we must look for a check upon such practices.

Prudence in Leadership

We are fortunate in having in public life to-day a number of leading men who represent most conspicuously the policy of prudence and restraint. President Coolidge has made this doctrine of thrift and economy the keynote of his administration. The Director of the Budget does his best to work out in detail the general plans upon which the President has insisted. Secretary Mellon, and his great department with its experts in revenue-raising and in the handling of funds and public obligations, have

shown remarkable skill in maintaining an ample public income under reduced taxation, and in improving opportunities to reduce the burden of the interest-bearing public debt. The President, however, would have had a more difficult row to hoe if he had not been so well supported by Congress. The floor leaders of both great parties, and the majority and minority leaders of important committees, have worked not only with devotion to the public interest but with rare intelligence.

*Congress as
a Board of
Directors*

We have asked Mr. William Hard to give our readers brief characterizations of some of these leaders in the House of Representatives. Mr. Hard is one of a group of Washington correspondents who know how to estimate the qualities and the services of public men. Our own impression of the rank and file of the 435 members of the present House of Representatives is favorable as regards both ability and personal character. Mr. Hard is of opinion that Congressmen to-day have a higher average of fitness than in previous periods. Since Government is so large and costly an industry, it becomes urgently important that we select the best men we can secure for the great board of directors—which is Congress. With the growth of the country, it has seemed necessary in the reapportionments that have followed decennial census-taking to increase the number of members. A maximum for convenience and efficiency, however, has been reached. The reapportionment that ought to have followed the census of 1920 has not yet been made, and on this score it is perhaps not unfair to criticize the present Congress as well as its predecessor. The Congressional elections of 1922 and 1924 were held under the apportionment law that was based upon the census of 1910; and since the recent session failed to act we are now about to hold the election of 1926 upon the same obsolete distribution of membership to the States.

*Failure to
Reapportion
Congress Seats*

The Constitution declares that Representatives shall "be apportioned among the several States . . . according to their respective numbers," and it is further provided that to carry out this purpose there shall be an enumeration or census as often as once in every ten years. On account of shifts and changes of population, if the present num-

ber of districts should be kept, namely, 435, some States would lose a member or two, while other States—Michigan, for instance, on account of the growth of Detroit—would gain. The principle involved is important. Even if neglect to pass a reapportionment bill were not in direct violation of the Constitution, it would be manifestly unjust to ignore the results of the census, and to favor some States at the expense of others. Our legislative system gives all the States—great and small alike—equality in the Senate; and on this very account it is the more imperative that representation in the lower house should be distributed scrupulously in the ratio of population. The present Congress in its closing session next winter should not fail to pass an apportionment act which would at least apply to the elections of 1928 and 1930.

*The Workers
and
the Talkers*

A body as large as our House of Representatives must, in order to accomplish things, work under rules which have a tendency to keep individuals from "playing to the galleries" or from becoming widely known to the country through their resort to oratory on all occasions, regardless of the course of public business. Half a dozen men in the



"SOMETHING ACCOMPLISHED, SOMETHING DONE"—From the American © (New York)

United States Senate who talk most, and who obtain the most publicity in the press, would have relatively small chance if they were in the House to keep themselves in the limelight. It is by no means certain that these Senators, if in the House, would on their merits take equal rank with the leaders who are individually mentioned in this article by Mr. William Hard (that our readers will find beginning on page 159). The Senate has very many superior men, like Cummins, Smoot, Wadsworth, Simmons, and Glass, to name a mere handful, who work hard at the public business and do not waste time in mere talk. But there are still more men of this class and rank in the House. They do a great deal of work in committee rooms, and are diligent students of the subjects for which they feel responsibility.

*Two Types
of Chairmen*

The fact that the Senate holds some check upon the treaty-making power of the Executive naturally gives the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations an exceptional opportunity to attract notice; and Mr. Borah, now chairman of that committee, is constantly in evidence before the Senate and before the country at large. It is even reported that during the present recess of Congress he is planning to make speeches in each of the forty-eight States of the Union, particularly on the subject of the World Court. Although chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Mr. Borah's warnings against our adoption of the World Court bill on President Coolidge's recommendation did not succeed. Senator Swanson, though a Democrat, presented the measure and carried it through. This particular Senate chairmanship has so pressed itself upon public attention that the ordinary citizen is in danger of forgetting that there is also a House Committee on Foreign Affairs, and that this committee has a great deal of important business with which to concern itself. The chairman of this House committee is Hon. Stephen G. Porter, a Repre-



THE FIRST SESSION OF THE SIXTY-NINTH CONGRESS
COMES TO AN END, ON SATURDAY, JULY 3, 1926

sentative from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Where money is to be appropriated, Mr. Porter's committee has to act, as in case of the Disarmament Conference at Geneva, the House having adopted the resolution as recommended by President Coolidge on January 18, eleven days before the Senate acted. This committee deserves much praise.

*Porter and
the Senate
Chairman*

Mr. Porter personally has been highly successful in the work he has done for the provision of American embassy and legation buildings in foreign capitals. He represented the United States at the Geneva Conference on the international traffic in opium and narcotics; and, in brief, he is one of the most valuable members of either house of Congress. These allusions are not made to disparage the eloquent and self-guided Senator from Idaho, who presides over the Foreign Relations Committee, and whose name—thanks to the friendly correspondents of the daily press—has become a

household word. Our comparison is merely intended to awaken readers to the fact that an equally able and well-informed statesman—endowed, it may be suggested, with a more practical and consistent mentality—holds the corresponding chairmanship in the House of Representatives. The fact that one of these men works in comparative obscurity is due in large part to the different rules and methods of the chambers. Porter, if chairman of the Senate committee, would be conspicuous although never effusive. Borah, if chairman of the House committee, could hardly break through the salutary and subduing effects of the House rules, to find his daily place in the headlines.

Mr. Dawes and Senate Practices The Vice-President of the United States, who has had a long experience as a banker and a business man, does not like the everlasting palaver of the Senate and has not in the least modified his views about the need of different rules to control the chamber over which he presides. He has a much better opinion of the way business is done under the gavel of Speaker Longworth. Thanks to an almost unprecedented absence of really sharp and intense partisanship, the Senate as well as the House has been able to transact business without scandalous filibustering during the recent session. There is not likely to be any adoption in the smaller body of the system for expediting business that works so smoothly in the popular assemblage. But it is reasonable to believe that we shall see some gradual modifications of the Senate rules that will make it easier for the majority to have its way as against an obstructive minority. President Coolidge hopes that Republican leaders like the Vice-President will join in praise of the constructive work of a Republican Congress during the coming weeks of campaigning, lest too urgent a crusade against the Senate's methods should seem to indicate lack of party unity.

Non-Partisan Achievements It is to be remembered that the Senate under its present rules can always close a debate and bring a question to final vote if a two-thirds majority agrees to invoke

the so-called cloture rule. This was actually done early in the session, when the Swanson resolution relating to the World Court was brought to a vote on January 27, following the Lenroot motion for cloture, which was adopted by a vote of 68 to 26 on January 25. The World Court resolution was adopted by a vote of 76 to 17, forty Republicans and thirty-six Democrats supporting the measure. The Senate then proceeded to take up the tax bill. In the case of the 1924 tax bill, the combined opposition had been too strong for the supporters of Secretary Mellon's proposals, and the measure as adopted was a compromise in which the anti-Mellonites were more successful than the nominal Republican majority. As regards the new tax bill of 1926, however, the issues were fought out in advance in the Ways and Means Committee, so that a non-partisan measure was ready for report as soon as the Sixty-ninth Congress was organized for business on the 7th day of December. The measure swept through the House on December 18 by the noteworthy vote of 390 to 25. There was fear of obstruction and protracted filibustering in the Senate, but this was overcome by voluntary agreement fixing debate limits; and so the tax-revision measure was passed by the Senate on February 12 by a vote of 58 to 9.



INTERRUPTED DUTIES

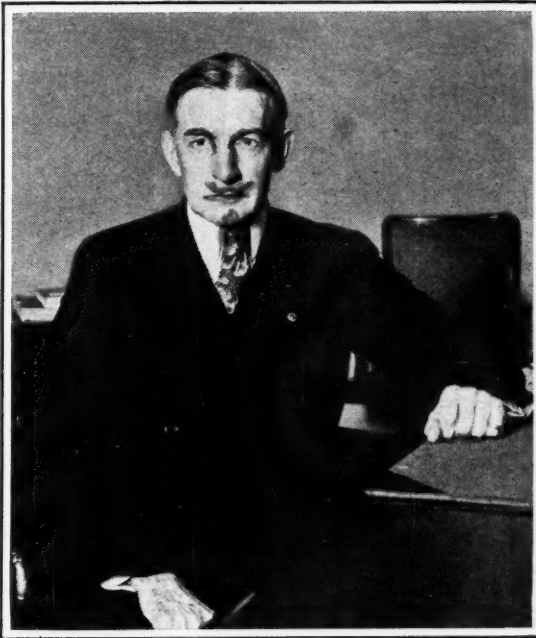
From the *Evening Post* (New York)

*Parties and
Farm Relief
Proposals*

Although the so-called farm-relief bills failed of passage (this being the foremost question in the last weeks of the session, which ended on July 3), there was no attempt at cloture on the one hand or at filibuster on the other. Arrangements for conducting the debate had been made by unanimous consent. The McNary-Haugen Farm Relief bill did not have the approval of the President, and it was defeated on May 21 in the House and on June 24 in the Senate. The proposals of this bill, to which we shall refer in a later paragraph, involved the use of very large sums of public money and the adoption of a radically new kind of policy. It is important to note, therefore, that the defeat of this measure, like the success of the World Court resolution and the adoption of the tax bill, was secured by a non-partisan support of the position taken by President Coolidge. The defeat of the McNary-Haugen bill was not by large majorities, the vote in the House being 167 to 212 and the vote in the Senate being 39 for and 45 against; but in proportion to their membership in the two houses the President's position was supported by almost exactly as many Democrats as Republicans. When, however, the Administration at the end of the session chose to put itself on record as friendly to the farmers by supporting in the Senate the so-called Fess bill, which involved less public money but was in some ways similar to the Haugen bill, the Democrats failed to accept the scheme, and their almost solid vote made the defeat of June 29 decisive.

*New Laws,
Made and
Delayed*

A statistical summing up of the work of this recent Congress session gives us some data worthy of consideration. Thus we are told that 13,244 bills were introduced in the House and 4,549 in the Senate. Mr. Tilson, in his article, gives figures that show the amazing multiplication of national, State, and local laws and ordinances. Most of the bills introduced, of course, fail to receive any serious consideration. Estimating roughly, it might be said that fifty important measures were considered during

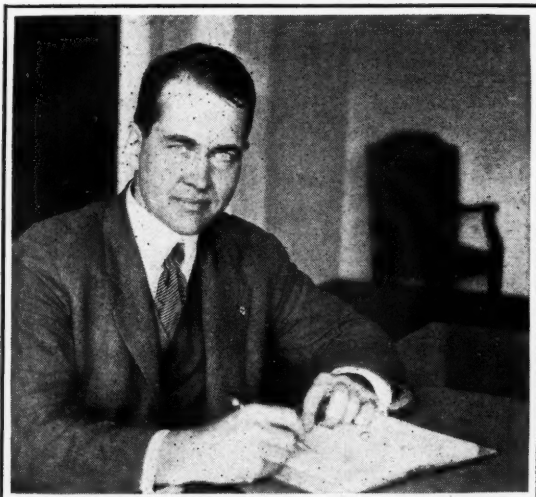


© Harris & Ewing

HON. CHARLES G. DAWES, VICE-PRESIDENT

(In his office at the Capitol in Washington)

the past Congress session, falling into three groups somewhat similar in number. The first group consists of the laws that were actually passed, signed by the President, and added to our vast collection of federal statutes. The second group includes bills that were far enough advanced to have been actually carried either in the House or the Senate, but that did not make their way through both chambers. The third group comprises measures having equal average rank and importance with the other groups, but which failed to secure a final vote in either house. As the work of the session was in progress, we referred in these pages to one after another of the pending measures. Our readers may, however, like to be reminded of a number of these bills, and first we shall mention those that became laws. Thus the Revenue act, which reduced income tax rates, abolished certain taxes, and eased the burden all along the line, went into effect promptly and is producing revenue well beyond the estimates of the Treasury. An immense number of former income-tax payers were exempted in the new law, while the lower rates of surtax on large incomes resulted, as foreseen by Mr. Mellon, in decidedly larger receipts.



EDWARD P. WARNER, NEW ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, IN CHARGE OF AVIATION

(Mr. Warner has been for some years professor of aeronautics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, his course forming part of the post-graduate training of young officers in the aviation branch of the naval service)

*Aviation
Supported*

The agitation started by Colonel Mitchell, leading to the appointment of the Commission on Aviation of which Mr. Dwight Morrow was chairman, resulted in suggestions that bore prompt fruit. Legislation of far-reaching importance was passed that will bring not only a great enlargement of the flying resources of the army and navy, but that will go far to coördinate commercial and military aviation. Provision is made for Assistant Secretaries charged with aviation duties in the Departments of the Army, the Navy, and Commerce. These three officials, working together, may develop into a genuine Aviation Board. Although ambitious plans for stabilizing farm prices through the use of Government money to aid in the marketing of surplus crops failed to pass, the farmers were at least successful in securing a new Bureau of Coöperation in the Department of Agriculture that may render valuable service, while preparing the way for further steps toward improving the status of agriculture on its commercial side. A much needed act was passed on recommendation of

the Department of the Interior for the relief of settlers on certain Western Reclamation projects, where conditions had rendered it impossible for the colonists to make their instalment payments.

*Several
Worthy
Enactments*

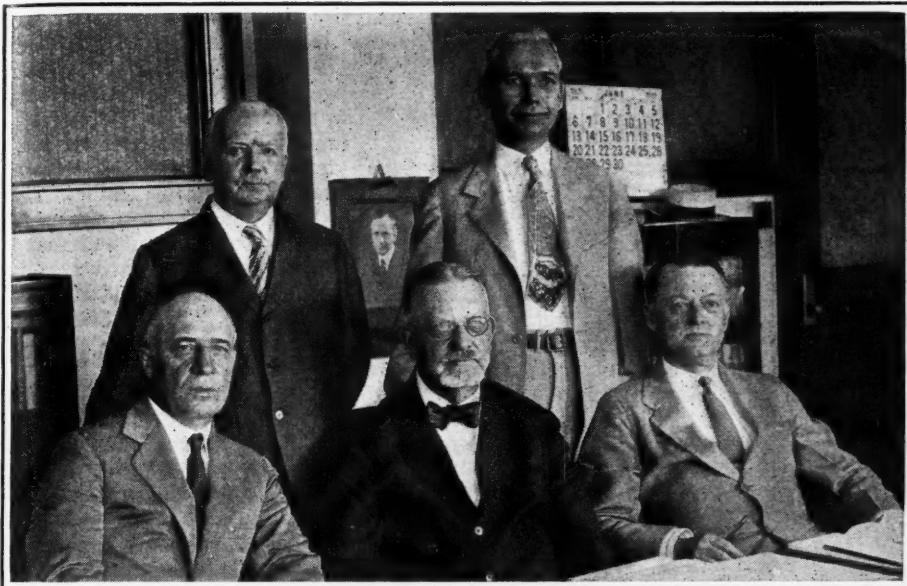
We have already in these pages discussed the abolition of the Railway Labor Board and the new plan for dealing with labor disputes as regards interstate transportation. Public building progress had been in abeyance on account of the Great War, but in pursuance of a comprehensive plan \$165,000,000 has now been appropriated, a considerable part of which will be used to provide a much needed Archives Building at Washington and suitable establishments for several of the departments. Also a program for providing buildings in foreign capitals, and another for reconstructing army posts have

been adopted. Enactments favorable to the pensioners of earlier wars and to the veterans of the World War were placed upon the statute books. The laws passed by Congress over a period of 136 years are to be revised and codified. The Shenandoah,



F. TRUBEE DAVISON, NEW ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE ARMY, IN CHARGE OF AVIATION

(Mr. Davison became an officer in the naval air service during the war, and has for five years been a member of the New York Legislature. He is a son of the late Henry P. Davison, banker and Red Cross executive)



THE NEW RAILROAD MEDIATION BOARD, APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT IN JUNE, UNDER RECENT LEGISLATION

(Seated, from left to right, are: Edwin P. Morrow of Kentucky, Samuel E. Winslow of Massachusetts, and G. W. W. Hanger of Washington. Standing are: Hywel Davies of California and Carl Williams of Oklahoma)

Smoky Mountain, and Mammoth Cave national parks are now finally established by proper enactments. A long agitation for an improved system of civil service retirement annuities has ended successfully.

The Radio Regulation Measure

A measure which passed both houses permitting national banks to establish branches, under certain conditions, was hung up in conference for the adjustment of minor differences between the House and Senate bills, but this measure will doubtless be enacted early in the session next winter. A similar fate overtook what is known as the General Radio Regulation bill. The failure to enact this measure had unexpected consequences. The Attorney General has ruled that the supervision exercised over radio broadcasting by Secretary Hoover of the Department of Commerce is without authority in law. In order to prevent hopeless confusion, the Department of Commerce had assigned wave-lengths and had exercised other necessary forms of control. It would appear that for the present broadcasting must be regulated by voluntary agreements, with the presumption that the assignments previously made will be re-

spected until Congress meets next December, when it ought to be possible to secure the prompt enactment of a measure which in its general features has already passed both houses. While the bill as passed by the House gave the regulatory authority to the Department of Commerce, the Senate adopted an amendment for the establishment of an independent commission of five members. With a view to preventing chaos in ethereal traffic, the two houses adopted a resolution before adjournment confirming the present licensing policy until permanent legislation could be completed. It was plainly the intent of Congress to leave authority for the present in the hands of Secretary Hoover, and this view should be accepted by the public.

River Work Assured

Among the bills that passed through one house but failed to be enacted into law there may be mentioned the River and Harbor bill that had been delayed too long in the House to reach a final vote in the Senate. It passed the House 219 to 127 on June 4, carrying total appropriations of more than \$83,000,000. This bill, however, is to be passed by the Senate before Christmas,

upon an agreement that was made just before adjournment. One of the important proposals in this bill about which there was controversy is the improvement of the upper Missouri River from Sioux City, Iowa, to Kansas City, Missouri, to provide a six-foot channel at a total estimated cost of \$50,000,000. This is a well-considered part of a general scheme to improve the great streams of the Mississippi Valley for navigation purposes, flood prevention, and hydro-electric power. Another feature of this River and Harbor bill provides for proceeding with the Illinois River project, which aims to provide barge navigation on a permanent plan from Chicago to the Mississippi River and which was opposed on the ground that too much water would be diverted from Lake Michigan.

*New York
Route to be
Surveyed*

It was shown that the Great Lakes could be readily maintained at their normal level, for the benefit of existing passages and of the Niagara and St. Lawrence outlets, by a moderate investment. We are so far committed to the improvement of the principal waterways of the Mississippi Valley that the system ought to be pushed to a rapid conclusion, carrying out the general idea that has dominated the regulation of the Ohio River. One feature of the River and Harbor bill that made discussion and controversy in the House had to do with the rivalry that has become intense between the respective advocates of the Hudson River and the St. Lawrence routes for navigation between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic. The bill as passed by the House, while not conclusive as to ultimate policy, favors the New York State and Hudson River plan to the extent of providing for a careful survey. This is a wise course to pursue. As between the two projects, the presumption is naturally in favor of the New York route. But nobody has presented a convincing argument to justify the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars of the taxpayers' money upon either of these projects.

*Foreign Debts
and Funding
Agreements*

The House voted favorably upon the French debt agreement, that had been framed by Secretary Mellon and Ambassador Berenger with the approval of our Debt Funding Commission. The Senate did not act upon this funding plan, because the

political situation in France was such that it seemed best to await the action of the French Senate and Chamber of Deputies. The arrangement for funding the debt of Yugoslavia, as agreed upon, was approved by the House in June; but this came too late for action by the Senate. It will doubtless be ratified in December. The British settlement had been approved by the Sixty-eighth Congress, as had that of Poland, besides the three relatively small debts of Finland, Lithuania, and Hungary. This recent session of the Sixty-ninth Congress ratified settlements with Italy, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Esthonia, and Latvia. When a French settlement is finally accepted on both sides, the work of the Debt Funding Commission will be practically completed. Nobody expects a Russian adjustment in this period.

*Revision of
Government
Machinery*

Several measures are still in suspense that relate to the operations of the government itself. For example, Senator Norris succeeded in carrying through the Senate his proposed constitutional amendment to rearrange Congress sessions, so that the work of any given Congress could be ordinarily completed before the election of its successor, thus making the federal plan correspond with that of the States. Less importantly, this amendment would advance the date for inauguration of Presidents. This proposal has not been acted upon in the House of Representatives, which, after all, is the body that is chiefly concerned. Regardless of the precise dates or details, a reform of this kind is urgently needed. A bill to strengthen the federal judiciary by increasing salaries also passed the Senate, but was not acted upon in the House. On the other hand, the House passed a bill placing prohibition agents under civil service rules, and creating separate prohibition and customs bureaus in the Treasury Department. These excellent projects did not reach final action in the Senate. The House in turn failed to act upon a bill which passed the Senate providing for cooperation between the Federal Government and the States in developing a Reclamation policy.

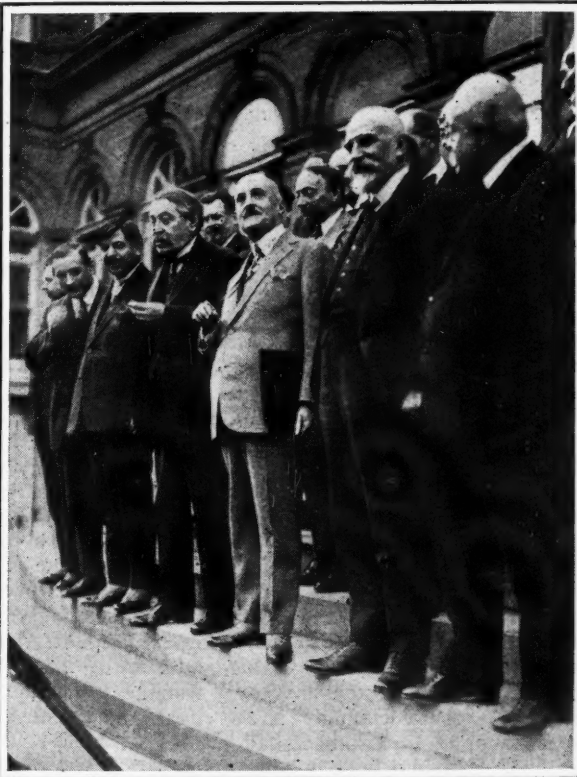
*Neglect of
Needed
Reforms*

Since the beginning of the Harding Administration much effort has been expended to bring about a better grouping of bureaus in the executive departments, and one plan

has followed another. The bill now pending provides for a board consisting of two Senators, two Representatives, and one presidential appointee to recommend changes that the President would be authorized to make without further legislation. This bill has gone over without action in either house. As we have already stated, the Congressional reapportionment that should have been made has failed to reach a vote. It is difficult to induce Congress to support measures looking toward the reform or the improvement of the mechanism of government, even when such changes as reapportionment, those contemplated in the Norris amendment, departmental reorganization, and the enlargement and strengthening of the federal judiciary, are all things clearly demanded in the public interest and without party bearing.

*Primaries
under
Criticism*

It should now be considered that primary elections, in so far as they have been brought under official cognizance and regulation, are a part of our machinery of government. If we are to have party nominations made in primaries that come under statutory provisions, they should be conducted in such a way as to eliminate abuses and to secure desirable results. The primaries as now held are under State laws; but in so far as Senators and Representatives are concerned Congress derives a certain indirect authority by reason of the fact that each House is final judge of the qualifications of its own members, and may refuse to seat members-elect who have been chosen by methods that are disapproved. Thus recent reports of large expenditures in Senatorial primaries in Pennsylvania, Illinois, and elsewhere, led the Senate on May 19 to adopt a resolution offered by Senator Reed of Missouri for the investigation of expenditures in this year's Senatorial primaries as well as in the elections to be held in November. Senator Reed himself was made chairman of this committee, consisting



PREMIER BRIAND, FINANCE MINISTER CAILLAUX, AND THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE REORGANIZED FRENCH CABINET

(Caillaux—in the light suit—within two weeks after assuming office arranged a new and more favorable debt agreement with Great Britain)

of five members, of whom two were Republicans, two Democrats, and one a Western Progressive.

*Campaign
Funds in
Question*

The committee proceeded promptly, and the frankness of Pennsylvania witnesses resulted in showing at once that several million dollars had been expended in the struggle for the Republican nomination. The larger fraction of this sum was used defensively on the part of the supporters of Senator Pepper, as against the aggressive efforts of the successful competitor, Mr. Vare. The testimony as adduced made it plain to everybody that this Pennsylvania system of using money in politics is a thoroughly bad one. There was no thought or desire on the part of Senator Pepper or Secretary Mellon to secure a victory by corruption or fraud. They would have fared much better under different condi-

tions. It would be quite possible to work out a plan under which Pennsylvania Republicans could nominate a United States Senator without any expenditures whatsoever on the part of the candidate or the central committee. Delegates fit to serve would prefer to pay their own railroad expenses to attend a convention. Various proposals having been considered by the Senate Rules Committee, a unanimous report was finally made in favor of a resolution that had been submitted by Senator Neely of West Virginia. This resolution condemns any expenditure on behalf of a Senatorial candidate of more than \$25,000 in either the primary or the election.

*The Senate
Proposes
a Limit*

If the Senate had adopted this rule, the foundation would have been laid for refusing to seat Senators-elect in whose behalf large sums had been expended. Unfortunately the resolution was side-tracked in the closing hours of the session by a brief filibuster for which Senator Cameron of Arizona was said to be responsible. It should be kept in mind, however, that, although this salutary proposal failed to reach a vote, it would have been overwhelmingly passed if the agreed hour of adjournment had not been reached. Having been unanimously reported by the Rules Committee, with the undoubted approval of the Senate as a whole, the suggestion has a certain moral validity that cannot be ignored. Senator Newberry, as we remarked last month, had been virtually forced to leave the Senate because a large sum of money had been expended in his campaign. With that precedent, and with the recent action of the Rules Committee as showing the present views of the Senate, it is quite possible that, if certain gentlemen who have secured party nominations should be successful at the polls in November, they might discover that their worst ordeal still lay before them. The Senate will have neither more nor less right to refuse to seat a Senator-elect on the score of undue money expenditures, by reason of its failure to reach a vote.

*Cleaning Up
the Public
Service*

Unquestionably it is the sentiment of Congress that our political life should be purified, and that public offices, whether elective or appointive, should not be secured by improper means. Thus near the end of the recent session there was passed through

both houses a bill that requires every appointee to a federal office to file a sworn statement that no consideration of any kind has been paid or promised as an inducement to secure the position. Obviously, complete honesty in politics and government cannot be secured by the mere passage of an act or a resolution in Congress, or by the filing of affidavits. Nevertheless, this requirement must certainly have a useful effect by way of warning, and with wide publicity it will check improper practices. President Coolidge has recommended the extension of the competitive system under civil-service rules to prohibition agents, and also to all postmasters of every class, and to the customs and internal revenue collectors. Thus we have various indications of a genuine desire on the part of our governmental and political leaders to get rid of the last vestiges of the spoils system. Now that Government has become so vast an "industry," as Mr. Tilson puts it, taking so large a toll out of the aggregate wealth production of the country, and supporting such a huge army of employees, it is increasingly necessary to make the system at once honest and efficient, and to eliminate graft and waste while rewarding fidelity and capacity.

*Congress and
Prohibition*

The tremendous attacks during the whole period of the recent session made by the so-called Wets upon national prohibition had certain negative but no positive results. The Drys in Congress were easily able to refuse consideration to all bills and measures proposed by the Wets, while on the other hand certain measures in the interest of better law enforcement that would have secured passage were held up by a threatened Senate filibuster as adjournment approached. Thus civil service classification of prohibition agents, and the separate prohibition bureau in the Treasury Department, both of which projects had passed the House without a roll-call, failed to be voted upon in the Senate, thanks to the rules that Vice-President Dawes is seeking to reform. A general bill for the improvement in detail of the Volstead act in the interest of better enforcement, which had been favorably reported by the Judiciary committees of both houses, met with this same obstacle of threatened filibuster; and Senator Goff was unable to secure the vote that would undoubtedly

men-
habit
chan-
the s
of the
came
metro
The
pers
The
enoug

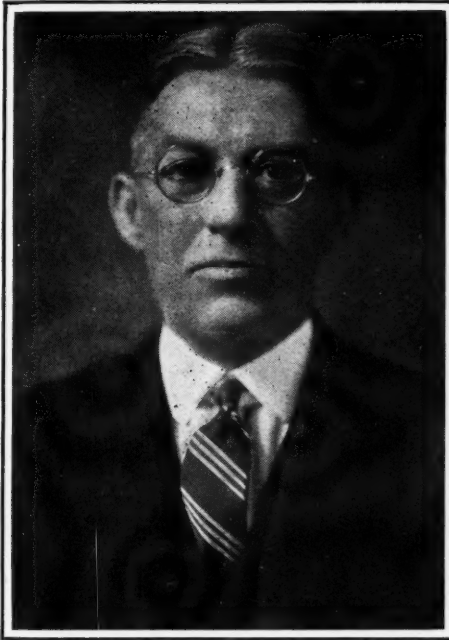
have resulted in approval. Meanwhile the Wets had submitted several important proposals which had been referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee. One of these undertook to modify the Volstead act and permit the sale of light wines and beer. Another proposed a national referendum on the subject of prohibition. Still others took the form of constitutional amendments either for the repeal or for the modification of the existing Eighteenth Amendment. All of these anti-prohibition measures, together with various others, were doomed to indefinite postponement by a sweeping vote of the Senate Judiciary Committee on June 14.

*The Press
and the Wet
Propaganda*

Readers in our large cities should be warned that the metropolitan press has seriously misled the public by its method of dealing with the prohibition question. This has been done not so much by positive errors in statement as by false emphasis, and by excessive allotment of space to the wet cause, while the failure to recognize facts favorable to the laws of the country as they are to-day has amounted to a reckless encouragement of law violation. This encouragement has not, it is true, expressed itself in direct and frank advice to readers to support smuggling and bootlegging, and to obstruct law enforcement. Rather, it has taken the more subtle and reprehensible form of trying to break down morale by constantly assuring the public that prohibition is a total and hopeless failure, nullified almost everywhere and by almost everybody, and that the abandonment of so egregiously harmful a system is merely a matter of that brief interval of time necessary for laws to adjust themselves to social facts and conditions.

*Surprising
Effects of
the Law*

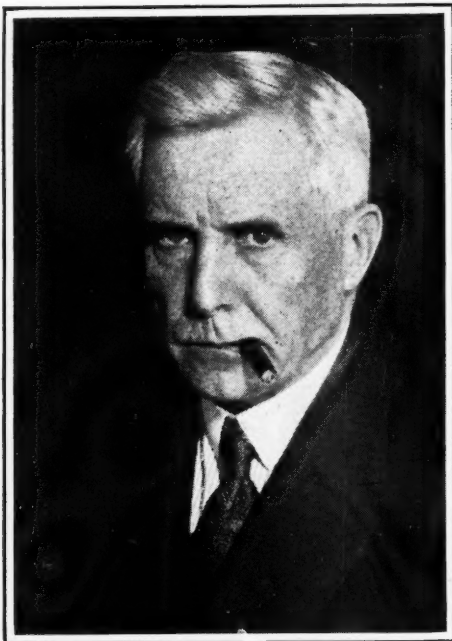
Even in the great centers like New York City, made up almost wholly of population elements of foreign birth or parentage, prohibition has wrought almost unbelievable changes for the better. The abolition of the saloon system, following the outlawing of the liquor traffic as a legitimate business, came as a novel innovation in our chief metropolis on the heels of the Great War. The fundamental mistake of the newspapers is due largely to a lack of perspective. The thing that is in evidence, naturally enough, is not the extent to which the law



© Harris & Ewing
GEN. LINCOLN C. ANDREWS, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, IN CHARGE OF PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT

(After a long and distinguished career in the Army, General Andrews was prevailed upon to become the Government's chief prohibition officer. Last month he went abroad in an attempt to curtail at the source the supply of liquor destined for smuggling.)

is observed but the extent to which it is violated. We are not dealing with opinions and preferences in these remarks, but with objective facts. We are not committed to the proposal that people ought not to be allowed to manufacture and sell, or to buy and to use, beer and certain wines and other drinks of moderate alcoholic content. The surprising thing is that a law of this kind should have been passed in view of the habits and customs of our great cities; and the still more surprising thing is that such a law should already have gained so widespread an observance and should have produced such extraordinary results. The foolishness of cabarets and night clubs, about which one reads in the newspapers, does not affect one per cent. of the population. Bootlegging and smuggling of course affect a very much larger percentage. And a still larger percentage, considering the population as a whole, is affected by the great increase in the practices of home-brewing, private distilling, and so on.



© Henry Miller

SENATOR JAMES A. REED OF MISSOURI

(Mr. Reed is chairman of a special Senate committee investigating campaign expenditures. Testimony before that committee has at times related largely to the political activities of Wets and Drys. Before his election to the Senate, in 1911, Mr. Reed had earned distinction as a lawyer and prosecuting attorney in Missouri and as reform mayor of Kansas City)

Enforcement Policies

The Government is aware that these domestic practices to a great extent are beyond the reach of the law and its agents. On the other hand, it is endeavoring to stop commercial smuggling on a large scale, and similarly to break up the establishments here at home engaged in redistilling so-called denatured or industrial alcohol. Our chief prohibition officer, General Andrews, went to England in July to negotiate at close range with the British authorities to secure help in stopping the discreditable use of British shipping and the British flag in the rum-smuggling traffic. Canada is working officially with our authorities, and it is to be noted that during the recent session our Senate ratified treaties relating to the suppression of liquor smuggling with Mexico, Cuba, Spain and Belgium. General Andrews went abroad with good reason to expect cordial and friendly treatment on the part of the British Government. As for the cost of federal enforcement, the largest item is for the Coast Guard to pre-

vent smuggling; and this amounts to about one-third of the total, which is some \$36,000,000. Another third may be regarded as the cost of maintaining the so-called prohibition unit, that is to say, the force of federal officers and agents under General Andrews. The remaining third would include the extra expense incurred by the Department of Justice on account of prosecutions under the Volstead act, and some other items.

Investigating Anti-Saloon League

The Senate Committee on Campaign Expenditures under the chairmanship of Mr. Reed of Missouri was expected to devote itself to investigating organized politics, as, for instance, the Republican campaign that nominated Frank Smith for Senator McKinley's place in Illinois, and the Democratic campaign that nominated George Brennan of Chicago—and, of course, in particular, the Republican Senatorial campaign in Pennsylvania. But the resolution under which the committee was appointed made it possible to include any agency or organization that used money in these current campaigns. Thus in Pennsylvania the candidacy of Governor Pinchot for the Senate was strongly supported by the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Anti-Saloon League, and certain other societies identified with the cause of temperance and social reform. It happens that Senator Reed is an aggressive opponent of prohibition, and particularly hostile to those organizations—principally supported by the churches—that took the lead in the fight against the liquor traffic that gave us the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead act. And so he has been exposing them.

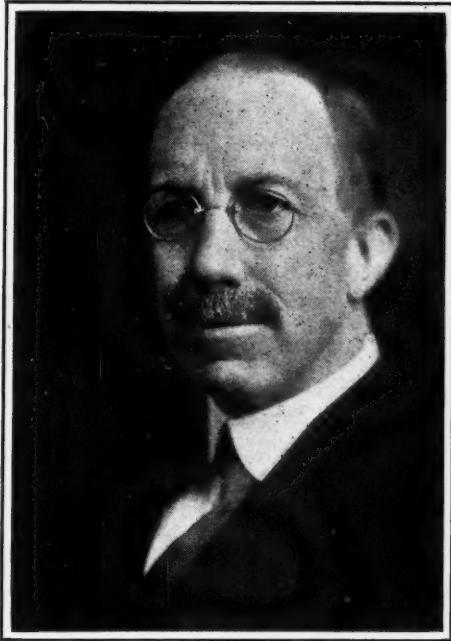
Senator Reed and Mr. Wheeler

The fact that these dry organizations were strongly opposed to William S. Vare, Pennsylvania's wet candidate, and that in accordance with their long-standing custom they raised and expended money for campaign purposes, gave Senator Reed a much coveted opportunity to switch the investigation from the Pennsylvania campaign to a general inquiry into the raising and spending of money by the Anti-Saloon League over a period of years. It so happens that the liquor interests, as a politico-commercial coalition, have been in the habit of working behind the scenes; and everybody familiar with politics knows that they have

expended colossal sums in the promotion of their own pecuniary interests, with no consideration of the public welfare. The Anti-Saloon League, having no motive whatsoever except the public welfare, has felt it necessary in times past to take a leaf out of their opponent's book and to carry on much of their work in a confidential way. Their general counsel and best-known representative for a good many years has been Mr. Wayne B. Wheeler, a lawyer of Ohio; and the books and accounts of the Anti-Saloon League have been centered at the reputable little college town of Westerville in the Buckeye State. It does not appear that the Anti-Saloon League had anything whatever to conceal, and it was evident that there were no important facts relating to the affairs or the methods of this organization that Mr. Wheeler was unwilling to put in the possession of the Senate committee. Senator Reed, however, conducted a cross examination for several days that was apparently intended to have it appear that a sharp and bearbaiting manner, and a "treat-'em-rough" method, were necessary to disclose to the country the nefarious and corrupting practices of the Anti-Saloon League.

*The Dreadful
Facts as
Disclosed*

Tremendous headlines, followed by many columns of verbatim report in metropolitan newspapers, gave the public the impression that Mr. Wayne B. Wheeler and his associates had been engaged in highly improper practices. It came to light that certain men had been paid for their time and their services in going from place to place making speeches or otherwise working in the cause of prohibition. Since the amounts paid to individual speakers could be so easily criticized and misrepresented, it was evidently true that Mr. Wheeler would have preferred to present the facts to the committee without having names published. It also appeared that Mr. Wheeler would have preferred not to give to the public the names of the principal regular contributors to Anti-Saloon funds. However, it is not to be supposed for a moment that Mr. Rockefeller, and certain other believers in prohibition, could have had the slightest objection to letting the amounts of their gifts be known, these sums being exceedingly modest in proportion to their customary gifts for other matters affecting the public welfare. The thing that seemed



© Harris & Ewing

**MR. WAYNE B. WHEELER, GENERAL COUNSEL
OF THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE**

(Ever since his college days, in Ohio, Mr. Wheeler has been identified with the prohibition movement. He was field secretary, district executive, attorney, and State superintendent of the Ohio Anti-Saloon League, later becoming general counsel and legislative director of the national body, with offices at Washington)

most startling to the horror-stricken and innocent metropolitan press, as it contemplated the iniquities of the Anti-Saloon League, was the aggregate figure of receipts and expenditures.

*How the
"Drys" Spent
Millions*

By adding together the entire sums collected in six years by the National Anti-Saloon League and the twenty-three State branches of the League, the grand total of \$11,000,000 was reached. The National League has been raising and spending a little more than half a million dollars a year on the work at large. The State leagues raised and spent their own money within their separate areas, the total of these sums averaging more than a million dollars a year. Altogether, the national and State leagues have been raising and spending money in support of prohibition throughout the United States to the extent of \$1,800,000 a year. A moment's application of the simple rules of arithmetic shows that this expenditure amounts to a cent-and-a-half per



THE SECRETARY OF STATE, MR. KELLOGG, AND SENATOR CURTIS OF KANSAS, REPUBLICAN LEADER IN THE UPPER HOUSE OF CONGRESS

year for each individual in the country, or seven and a half cents a year for an average family of five persons. This, of course, is not a drop in the bucket when compared with sums that the enemies of prohibition have spent in their own interest, whether or not the facts of such expenditure can be reached. It would be easy to show that expenditures in the recent primary campaign for a single "wet" candidate in Pennsylvania, added to the cost of this year's wet campaigns elsewhere, have far overtopped the outlays of the Anti-Saloon League.

*Money
and
Reform*

Another way to look at the expense account of the Anti-Saloon League, together with its branches, is to compare the figures with the yearly federal appropriation for Volstead law enforcement. Where the Government appropriates one dollar to support existing law, the Anti-Saloon League adds five cents. If one includes the cost of prohibition enforcement as met by States and local authorities, the expenditures of the Anti-Saloon League become too small relatively to be worth considering. Societies and organizations for the promotion of what they deem to be sound public

policy have quite as good a right to work in the political field as have those other voluntary organizations of citizens that we call the Republican party or the Democratic party. We have great societies endeavoring to secure better laws, and better enforcement of existing statutes, for the welfare of women and children, for the improvement of schools, and for various other things that they believe to be desirable. There are wise limits to be observed in principle and in practice upon the use of government to enforce what one regards as morally advantageous. But it is a cheap and silly thing to sneer at the altruistic motive in public life and effort, whether to suppress trade in narcotics, the white slave traffic, or the habit of alcoholic stimulation that is so contrary to the tendencies of a generation that has resorted to the use of millions of automobiles, and that has adopted forms of life and activity that make sobriety a prime requisite.

*Our World
Court
Provisos*

Reverting to some of the problems faced by the State Department and dealt with by the Senate, the first thing to be mentioned is the status of our action relating to the World Court. It was on January 27 that the Senate, by a vote of 76 to 17, adopted the Swanson resolution, with its reservations. We ask to have an equal place in the election of judges; we offer to pay our share of the World Court's expenses; we reserve the right to withdraw, and the right to share in the future revision of the Court system itself; and we disclaim any legal relation to the League of Nations. Also we make the condition that the World Court is to render no advisory opinion without general notice, and is not to "entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest." The United States also asserts its traditional policy as to non-interference in European affairs and as to the Monroe Doctrine. It is by no means certain that the European Powers will accept the United States as a constituent of the World Court in view of these reservations. The subject will be dealt with at Geneva in September.

Our view of "advisory opinions" is not acceptable to some European statesmen. Americans prefer a judicial body, and do not wish to have the Court used for political purposes.

*Work of
the State
Department*

New treaties with Cuba have been negotiated and ratified, and also one with Mexico.

These are in addition to the treaties relating to rum-running and smuggling to which we have already referred. The trading rights of the United States in certain important African territories over which Great Britain exercises control under mandates, in accordance with the Versailles plan, have been duly recognized in explicit treaties with Great Britain that the Senate has ratified. Several additional treaties have been negotiated with smaller countries and have been duly approved. Excepting for the French debt arrangement, the Senate seems to have cleared up most of the pending foreign business. However, the State Department has always problems enough on hand to keep it busy.

*Farmers
and
Politics*

In the East it is considered that Prohibition is the one subject of public interest that will be dominant in the elections this fall. In the West, on the other hand, the opinion prevails that Farm Relief is the paramount issue, and that a Republican Administration and a Republican Congress have failed to grasp the nature of the issue and the extent of the emergency. The twelve States that held an official conference on this subject of farm relief at Des Moines last January, worked out a plan that was embodied in the revised McNary-Haugen bill. This measure called for the advance of the sum of \$375,000,000 to be used in handling export surpluses of certain specified standard crops. Losses incurred by foreign marketing (as measured by domestic prices) were to be made up by equalization fees collected through associations for cooperative marketing. In spite of repeated reductions in the amount of Government money asked for, this bill failed through lack of endorsement by the Administration.

*A Rejected
Compromise*

Secretary Mellon analyzed the McNary-Haugen bill in a statement that undertook to demonstrate the economic unsoundness of the plan. The political situation in the

West, however, at once became ominous; and Senator Cummins, although himself a supporter of the Haugen bill, was badly defeated by Mr. Brookhart in the Iowa Republican primary. The Administration then came forward with the Fess bill as a substitute; but the Democratic supporters of the McNary-Haugen project turned almost solidly against the new proposals, which offered a fund of \$100,000,000 for the use of cooperative societies in financing the storage and ultimate sale of surplus farm products. It seems quite certain that there will be a strong movement in the West to support the Southern Democrats in reopening the tariff question, on the ground that if farmers are to accept world prices rather than American prices for what they have to sell they should be permitted to buy their supplies in world markets. This sounds plausible on its face, but it is by no means conclusive. High industrial wages and general business prosperity add so much to the buying power of non-farming classes that tariff changes in the interest of foreign manufacturers might hurt the American farmer much more than they would help him. A good deal can be done to help farmers by a further development of cooperation. Less agitation and more economic research would be desirable in the treatment of these serious problems. Meanwhile, the subject is not disposed of, but will be further studied at Washington.

*Coolidge
Keeps His
Hold*

President Coolidge is enjoying his well-earned vacation in the Adirondack forest, and is reported as not worrying about the drifts of politics. It is hard to see what any important interest in the country could gain by trying to prevent the election of a Seventieth Congress that would work fairly well with the Coolidge Administration. If the Democrats are destined to return to power in the near future, it would be better for all concerned that they should capture Congress and the presidency at the same time, in the elections of 1928. But no presidential figure is just now looming large on the horizon in either party except that of President Coolidge himself. This is not a personal or one-sided opinion, because it is what a great number of well-informed Democrats are saying to one another and to their friends in private, even though it may be against their sense of party loyalty to announce such views in

public. The Republicans of New York State are casting about in a somewhat bewildered fashion for a candidate to oppose Governor Al Smith, who is slated to run for the fourth time on the Democratic ticket. Governor Smith's chances for another term at Albany, if he consents to run, are regarded by politicians as excellent. But the same prognosticators declare that his chances for a presidential nomination two years hence are the worst possible.

New York's Senator and the Drys As for the Senatorship, Mr. Wadsworth is strong in New York City because of his out-

spoken position as a wet, while many dry Republicans throughout the State see no reason for opposing him merely to elect a wet Democrat who would lack Mr. Wadsworth's prestige and standing in the Senate. As for New York's official referendum on the prohibition question, it is so phrased that the results can have no particular influence on public opinion, and it is likely to be treated with indifference not only by the drys but by many of the wets, who would prefer to face the issue squarely. It is almost inconceivable that Congress could be induced to adopt the suggestion of this referendum, namely, to allow the forty-eight States each for itself to put as much alcohol as it pleased into legalized beverages. Neither is it easily conceivable that the courts would regard any such statute as constitutional, the clear intent of the Eighteenth Amendment being a uniform national prohibition policy. Nevertheless,

as a matter of fact, it is only in the imagination of the wets that the question of prohibition is dominantly before the country in a political sense. Every one knows that the subject is one of constant talk in private circles, and that the wet movement supports a tremendous propaganda. But the voters would do well this fall to remember that national prohibition is with us as an existing fact, and will remain with us at least for some years to come.

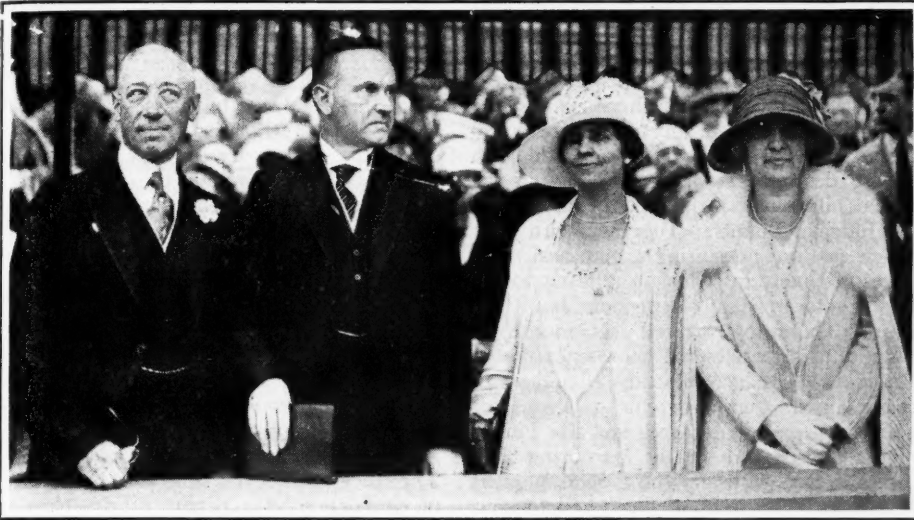
Sanity in Republican Politics

It is only of slight consequence, so far as public policy is concerned, that Senator Wadsworth does not approve of prohibition. On many accounts he is an exceptionally able and useful member of the United States Senate, and there is no good reason why any well-balanced member of the Republican party in New York State, however earnestly believing in prohibition, should feel that the wet and dry question is urgent enough at this moment to compel him—on his conscience, though reluctantly—to withhold his vote from the regular party candidate. In voting, however, for members of the New York legislature, it may well be borne in mind that the State of New York has failed to do its duty in providing enforcement laws and upholding the national policy that properly requires State and local support. As for farm relief, Republican voters in our great States of the middle and farther West would be well advised if they should adopt the view that they have nothing to gain by flopping from one party to another. To

have retained Senator Cummins would have counted for more in the direction of a substantial and helpful farm policy than to have rejected him in favor of a competitor who will not, in point of fact, be allowed to contribute anything of importance to constructive programs. Successful plans will be worked out either by Republicans alone, by Democrats alone, or by non-partisan agreements between leading groups in these two parties. We shall have the subject of agricultural



ONE OF THE COTTAGES AT THE ADIRONDACK CAMP WHERE PRESIDENT COOLIDGE IS SPENDING THE SUMMER



THE PRESIDENT IN PHILADELPHIA, ON THE OCCASION OF THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

(The historical address by President Coolidge, on July 5, represented the real opening of the Sesqui-Centennial Exposition. Besides the President and Mrs. Coolidge, this group shows Mayor W. F. Kendrick and—at the extreme right—Mrs. Kendrick)

prosperity before us for some time to come, and there is no danger that it will be minimized or side-tracked.

*Wanted, a
Philippine
Policy*

We are publishing an interesting and timely statement from the pen of Judge D. R. Williams, now of California, on the subject of our relation to the Philippine Islands and the desirability of facing the various points of a permanent and intelligent policy. A long official experience in the Philippines gives our author the right to express what are mature and sound views. We have the Filipino politicians clamoring for an independence that they would be unable to exercise safely or responsibly. The jurisdiction of the United States in the Philippines, so far as its international status is concerned, is as unquestioned as our jurisdiction in Alaska. The administration of the public lands, for example, does not belong to the legislative body at Manila, except as the authorities at Washington so ordain. A bill has now been introduced by Representative Bacon of New York for the separate government of those important islands of the Philippine archipelago that are not populated by the Spanish-speaking elements which have come under the control of the Manila politicians. When we assumed jurisdiction over the Philippines

by virtue of our treaty with Spain, we undertook to protect extensive Spanish interests, as well as those of citizens of various other countries who held Philippine property and were engaged in Philippine trade and commerce. It would be hard to justify an abandonment of these duties that we then assumed, if we were arguing the matter before a well-selected body of international jurists or statesmen.

*Should We
Abandon
the Islands?*

The opinion expressed by a former Congress in the preamble to the Jones act is not to be regarded as precluding a further study of the subject. We are fairly committed by that preamble to a reopening of the question, in the light of all its bearings. If we find that the "independence" that the Philippine politicians pretend to seek would be an exceedingly bad thing for the islands themselves, and altogether likely to lead to troubles both internal and external, we should so declare in a manner so firm and conclusive as to end the present agitation. There is no possible fate so favorable to the Philippine Islands and their numerous polyglot tribes as to continue under the American flag. Far from withholding any advantageous political freedom, we have already gone too rapidly and too far in transferring authority to local bodies.

They fairly revel in a kind of freedom that is not productive of those results that accrue from wisdom and justice in government. Meanwhile, the full resumption of direct American authority over those islands and areas that are not in any real sense represented in the Manila legislature would seem a very desirable step, as proposed in the Bacon bill and as explained in our article by Judge Williams. Together with that article, we are presenting a map and some pages of timely information relating to our Far Eastern island dependencies. Col. Carmi Thompson arrived last month at Manila as the personal representative of President Coolidge, to study all phases of the political and economic relationships between the United States and the Philippines. It is hoped that he may bring back a report that will help the Government at Washington to reach definite conclusions, and to abandon its present harmful attitude of drifting and indecision as to a permanent policy. It already appears that the Moros of Mindanao would prefer General Wood and the American flag to Mr. Quezon and "independence" under the Manila poli-

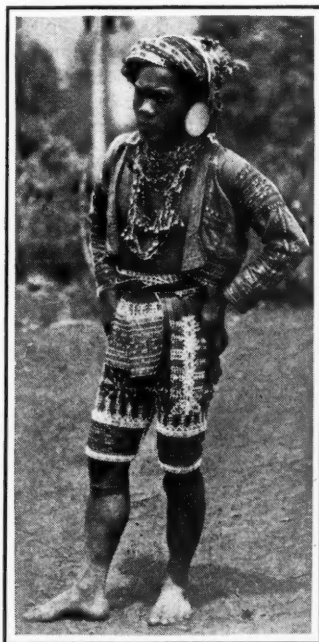
ticians; and that they would welcome the development of their resources by American capital and enterprise.

The Business Outlook

Many business and financial authorities, and perhaps a majority of those dealing with securities, felt, through the first months of 1926, that the great prosperity of the country would show at least some hesitation for the second half of the year. Not a few of them believed that there would come a change which, as compared with the recent record-breaking industrial activity, would look like depression. As a matter of fact, however, we have come into the second half year without the slightest hint of a slowing up of things so far as the general business situation is concerned. The stock market has reflected this renewal of confidence by a persistent rise through the first half of the summer, which, in the middle of July, had carried the average prices of securities listed on the New York Exchange to figures within striking distance of the high point for all time reached last February, just before the sudden and almost perpendicular drop in quotations. That very acute and able economist, Dr. David Friday, contributes to this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS an interesting discussion of the effects of the forecasters on the business trend. He thinks they may actually have helped to extend prosperity by their caution and suspicious warnings.

How Various Industries are Faring

The basic iron and steel industry has been improving through midsummer to a surprising extent. Building contracts have been larger than in the corresponding months of 1925. Every month the railroads have been carrying enormous quantities of freight, the traffic handled during the first half year being the largest ever received during any corresponding period. Automobile production is still well ahead of last year; the leading interest, the General Motors Corporation, reporting for May the sale of 141,651 cars—the best month in the corporation's history. What is even more significant, this gigantic manufacturer of motor cars announces a program of new expenditures in plant and equipment of about \$40,000,000. On July 14 the common stock alone of this company was selling at a price which meant a value of more than \$928,000,000 for the issue—substan-



© Ewing & Galloway

A MORO CITIZEN OF THE PHILIPPINES

(This picturesque gentleman represents a large population who claim the right to remain as they are under the American flag and who would like a more direct exercise of American authority)

tially more than the common stock of the great Steel Corporation was worth at its current price—the highest, approximately, on record. The lumber industry is reported above normal; the electrical trade is very active, and the prospects for machinery and machine tools have been persistently improving. Every month shows a new record in the volume of checks drawn and cashed at the banks.

*The Textile
Trade in the
Doldrums*

The one marked exception to the current business and industrial prosperity is found in the manufacture of cotton goods, which has for several years been in a bad way and is still seriously depressed. Mr. George E. Roberts points out that the chronic troubles of the cotton factories indicate that there is much more the matter with them than occasional overproduction. They have suffered from the violent fluctuations in the cost of their raw material; the price of cotton moving up from a low 12 cents in 1921 to 37 cents in 1923, only to fall rapidly again in the next two years. At many times the cost of raw cotton has been too close to the prices of the finished material which the public is willing to pay, to allow the manufacturer any profit. Mr. Roberts proves that the total productive capacity of the country's cotton mills has not increased abnormally, answering the theory that their troubles are largely due to the increase in cotton manufacturing in the South. The true explanation of the serious differences between productive capacity and consumption seems to lie in the fewer and scantier clothes worn by women and the greater popularity of silk and rayon. At present nearly half of the cotton manufacturers of the country are in the South; chiefly in Alabama, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Virginia, where production costs are lower, due to longer working hours and newer and more up-to-date equipment.

*Uneven
Railroad
Prosperity*

As noted in a preceding paragraph, the railroads are doing the greatest business of their history; and, what is more, they are making a fair profit out of it in spite of a gigantic increase in the past ten years in taxes paid by them, which now aggregate annually more than the total of dividends paid stockholders. The prosperity which has come to our railroads in spite of the gloomy pre-

dictions five or six years ago—that they were bound straight for bankruptcy and government ownership—is ascribed in part, at least, to the workings of the present Railway Act requiring the Interstate Commerce Commission to adjust rates that will enable the roads as a whole to earn a fair rate upon their value. This fair rate is defined by the law as $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., plus $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. additional, at the discretion of the commission. As a matter of fact the rate has been fixed since 1922 at $5\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., but 1926 will be the first year that has ever shown such a percentage of profit for the roads as a whole. Even now the distribution of profit-making capacity is very uneven. The railroads hauling coal down from the Alleghanies (the Pocahontas region) are most favorably affected by the present arrangement and earned 7.70 per cent. in 1925. The Southern district comes next with 5.91 per cent., and so on down to the eighth region, the Northwestern, which showed last year only 3.60 per cent. of net income.

*Railroad
Stocks
Booming, too*

One of the evidences, or course, of this unfavorable condition of the Northwestern lines is the recent bankruptcy of the great St. Paul railroad. The roads of that section have made unsuccessful attempts to have this relative disadvantage removed by the allowance of an increase of 5 per cent. in their rates. The price of railroad securities reflects strikingly these changes in the past few years and also the failure of the rates prescribed by the commission to allow the Northwestern roads to share in the regained prosperity. The highest price of the stock of the Atlantic Coast Line in 1919 was 107, in 1926 it was 262; of the Southern Railway, 33 in 1919 and 120 recently; of the St. Louis & San Francisco, 25 in the former year and 101 in 1926. But in the meantime the Great Northern had fallen from 95 in 1919 to 78; the Chicago & Northwestern from 105 to 82; and the St. Paul from 52 to 14. The stocks of the roads in the proposed Nickel Plate merger, engineered by the Van Schweringen brothers, have displayed exceptional strength during the past months due to the renewed and energetic effort of the two ambitious young Clevelanders to satisfy the different units of the merger and the Interstate Commerce Commission. In spite of delays, it is now believed that the merger will be accomplished.

The Federal Program for Economy President Coolidge spoke, on June 21, before the annual meeting of the Business Organization of the Government, noting the unexpectedly handsome surplus of the federal Treasury at the end of the last financial year, and warning against any looseness of financial behavior in the Government service lest a very different result should come in 1928. The 1927 surplus is estimated by the President at \$185,000,000, provided that expenditures do not exceed \$3,600,000,000. The President was emphatic in his criticism of the huge increases in expenditures by State and local governments, which, between 1921 and 1925, increased their disbursements by more than \$4,000,000,000, while the federal Government was reducing its expenditures by \$2,000,000,000. In 1925 the federal Government's share of the \$11,500,000,000 representing the cost of all government in the United States was only 27 per cent. of the total, as against 60 per cent. in 1921. Gen. H. M. Lord, Director of the Budget, outlined his plan for cutting federal expenses next year through reducing the number of civilian employees by 2 per cent. The program, which has been approved by the President, will not involve the discharge of any employee for the purpose of effecting this economy, but will simply provide that the normal vacancies are not to be filled. This will save \$20,000,000 a year. On Armistice Day in 1918, federal employees, exclusive of the postal service, numbered 657,672, while on April 30 of this year the total was 246,419—representing an annual saving of \$738,000,000.

Our Total Wealth To-day Some three years ago the Federal Trade Commission was directed to report the aggregate wealth of the United States, and it has recently published the figures, which apply to the year 1922. The value as of that year of everything that is of money worth in the United States, was put at \$353,000,000,000; as of to-day this colossal calculation would probably result in a figure nearer \$400,000,000,000. In 1912 the national wealth was estimated to be \$205,000,000,000; but the extraordinary increase that seems to have been made by comparison of these figures is to be discounted by the largely decreased purchasing power of the dollar in 1922 as compared with 1912. If, in the latter year, the dollar had not been

worth any more than it was worth in the former, the pre-war report would have been \$304,000,000,000 instead of \$205,000,000,000. This means that in the ten years the wealth of the country increased about 16 per cent.; the population increased 15 per cent. in the same period. Taken as a whole, the houses and personal property of the country form the largest section of its total wealth, amounting to 25 per cent.; and the farmers come next with 18 per cent. as against 14 per cent. for manufacturing and mining. The railroads and public utilities furnish 13 per cent.; government property, curiously enough, amounts to \$42,000,000,000.

Uncle Sam's Ships for Sale

It was noted last month that the most important American shipping concern, the International Mercantile Marine Corporation, was selling its ownership of the famous White Star Line to an English firm; but the sale was cancelled after stockholders had approved. It was thought that the I. M. M. would probably be the chief bidders for the vessels belonging to the federal Government which are now to be sold by the Shipping Board—the *Leviathan*, *George Washington*, *President Harding*, *President Roosevelt*, and *Republic*—as well as eleven smaller steamers now controlled by what is called the American Merchant Lines, Inc. On July 7 the Shipping Board took steps to auction off these well-known steamers, aggregating more than a quarter of a million tons. It had been the policy of both Presidents Harding and Coolidge to get the federal Government out of the shipping business when it could be wisely arranged. The Shipping Board has been losing about \$30,000,000 a year in operating its fleets. The Government vessels could not be sold to the International Mercantile Marine Corporation while it owned competitive tonnage—the White Star Line—under a foreign flag. The corporation was to receive something over \$35,000,000 for its White Star ships, and the United States vessels to be disposed of are unofficially appraised at \$27,000,000.

The Harriman Liners Sold

Following the report of the White Star sale and of the coming auction of the Shipping Board's passenger vessels, it was announced, on July 14, that the three fine trans-Atlantic liners of the Harriman line—the *Resolute*, the *Reliance* and the *Cleve-*

land—are to be sold to the German Hamburg-American Company. This was, before the World War, Germany's mightiest shipping concern and her national pride, presided over by the astute Herr Ballin. It was virtually destroyed by the war and has since been in the process of gradual reconstruction. The purchase of Mr. Harriman's ships (the United American Line) will bring the Hamburg-American tonnage up to about 500,000, or 40 per cent. of its tonnage in its pre-war glory. Mr. W. Averill Harriman began with ambition and enthusiasm, after the war, to build up an extensive American merchant fleet; but the handicaps, commercially speaking, of running great passenger liners under American regulations, without liquor and with the higher rate of wages prescribed, have been too much for this venture.

*Canada
Electing a
Parliament*

The political season in Canada is decidedly acute, by reason of a second general election within a year. Premier Mackenzie King and his Liberal Cabinet resigned on June 28. There followed a temporary Cabinet headed by the Conservative leader, Arthur Meighen, a former Premier. Four days later the Parliament was dissolved, the Meighen Cabinet having failed to secure a vote of confidence; and general elections will be held in September. The downfall of the Mackenzie King Administration was due to the exposure of scandals in the Customs Department. It will be remembered that a general election was held last October which resulted in the weakening of the Liberal forces which had for several years kept Mr. Mackenzie King in power. Nevertheless, this able and vigorous young statesman managed to hold office through coalition methods. When the exposure of certain improprieties in the Customs Department resulted in turning Parliament against the Administration, the Premier proposed to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country.

*Functions of
British Governor-General*

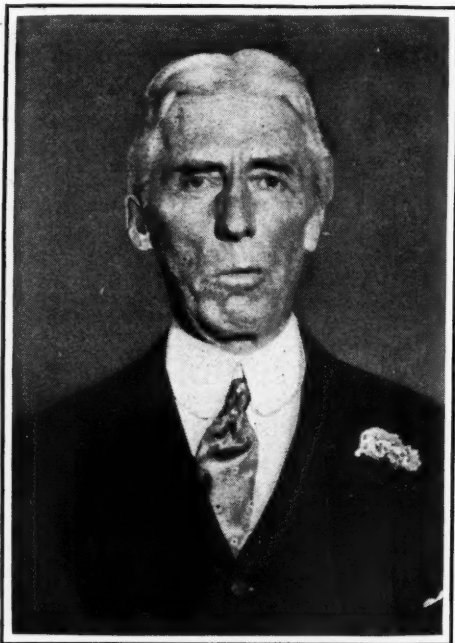
It has been customary for the resident British Governor-General to accept the views of a Canadian Premier, and act accordingly. But Lord Byng, who has been Governor-General for five years and is about to return to England, quite unexpectedly refused to comply with Mr. Mackenzie King's request, and instructed Mr. Meighen to as-



RT. HON. WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE KING

(Mr. King was born in Ontario in 1874; studied at the universities of Toronto, Chicago, and Harvard; and at the age of twenty-six became Canadian Deputy Minister of Labor, and was at once recognized as an authority on industrial relations and other timely subjects. He entered the Canadian Parliament in 1908; became a member of the Laurier Cabinet; and an active Liberal leader. During the war period he investigated labor conditions in the United States and promoted the movement of war supplies. In 1919 he succeeded Sir Wilfrid Laurier as leader of the Liberal party of Canada and became Prime Minister in 1921.)

sume control and form a Cabinet. Mr. Meighen, however, was defeated immediately on a test vote and Parliament was dissolved by Lord Byng at his request. This leaves Meighen in office until after the September elections and the organization of a new Parliament. Mr. Mackenzie King and his supporters very emphatically denounce what is regarded as an attempt to bring Canada back to the colonial status that had been outgrown and repudiated, and to govern this independent commonwealth from Downing Street. It would seem plain that Lord Byng was in error, and that he should have allowed the dissolution under Mackenzie King rather than under Meighen. But it is also reasonable to assume that Lord Byng was intending to act as an impartial umpire rather than as an exponent of British imperial authority. We open our "Leading Articles" with interesting references to opinions appearing in the British press upon this political upset in Canada.



THE LATE CLEVELAND HOADLEY DODGE OF
NEW YORK

(Although highly successful in business, Mr. Dodge has been best known at home and abroad for his life-long interest in education, his public-spirited citizenship, his philanthropic services in such enterprises as the Red Cross and the Near East Relief and his unstinted contributions of money to the institutions and organizations for the success of which he assumed responsibility)

Europe in Transition The condition of Europe viewed on broad lines twelve years after the outbreak of the Great War is reviewed by Mr. Simonds in our present number. He finds democracy in the old sense of the word losing power and repute almost everywhere. In Belgium authority has now been conferred upon King Albert to deal as a dictator with the currency and financial situation. Finance Minister Caillaux, in France, seeks a similar authority, because political influences stand in the way of what would otherwise be a clear and simple path of financial reform. Mr. Simonds does not believe that France will ratify the Mellon-Berenger debt agreement. Meanwhile Messrs. Caillaux and Churchill have gone through the form of agreeing upon an adjustment of the French debt to Great Britain. This, of course, is largely for effect and bears no real relation to the Franco-American situation. It would be quite easy to explain why every Frenchman believes that in reality England is vastly indebted to France.

*America
and Foreign
Politicians*

There is not the slightest expectation in any quarter that France will long carry out the nominal agreement between Messrs. Caillaux and Churchill. But for the time being it is exceedingly good politics that Churchill has played for British home consumption, and even better politics that Caillaux has played to impress France. The attempt on the part of British politicians like Churchill to claim credit for generosity, and to put the United States in the light of a grasping creditor, may impress those who are feebly sentimental and wholly uninformed. It still remains true, in our opinion, that we should from the very first have asked France to make her own proposals for the adjustment of the American debt, and should then have accepted them without haggling or "negotiating" as if this were a commercial transaction. If we had taken this view from the start, we should not only have been better off financially, but we should have kept French good-will.

*The Month's
Obituary*

Each month takes its toll of citizens who have served their generation well, so that it often makes us wonder how we are to fill their places. In our record this month, for example, occurs the name of Cleveland H. Dodge, of New York. Along with great wealth, he had inherited from his distinguished father, William E. Dodge, a highly responsible interest in various educational and philanthropic causes. Throughout his life he devoted time and money without stint to useful work for his fellow-men. During the war period he headed great campaigns for the Red Cross and for other relief organizations, and from the beginning he was the most generous supporter of the organization now known as Near East Relief. Mr. Dodge graduated with Woodrow Wilson in the Princeton class of 1879, and was a devoted friend and adviser throughout Mr. Wilson's life. In the death of John W. Weeks the country loses a New England statesman who had rendered important service in both houses of Congress, and as head of the War Department under Presidents Harding and Coolidge. Mr. Weeks was a graduate of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, but as a young man left the Navy and entered business, becoming a banker and financier of note before entering upon his career at Washington. He was "presidential timber" in 1916.

THE GIST OF A MONTH'S NEWS

FROM JUNE 13 TO JULY 15, 1926

I. PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

June 16.—The Senate seats Mr. Thomas D. Schall (Rep., Minn.), dismissing the contest by Magnus Johnson.

The House Interstate Commerce Committee postpones coal legislation until the December session (a bill for Federal intervention in hard-coal strikes had passed the Senate).

June 17.—The Senate campaign investigating committee questions Wayne B. Wheeler, general counsel of the Anti-Saloon League, as to the League's participation in political campaigns and in prosecutions under the Volstead Act.

June 22.—The Senate primary investigating committee hears Mrs. Ella M. George, of the W. C. T. U., reveal that private funds were used by the society to pay for enforcing Pennsylvania prohibition laws and to help renominate Governor Pinchot.

June 23.—The Senate investigating committee learns from Wayne B. Wheeler that the Anti-Saloon League has spent \$35,000,000 in thirty years for prohibition, of which \$3,430,285 was expended between January 1, 1920, and December 31, 1925.

June 24.—The Senate votes down the McNary-Haugen farm-relief bill, 45 to 39; it proposed a Government revolving fund of \$150,000,000, for the benefit of farmers in marketing crops.

June 25.—In the Senate, a 1700-page bill is passed codifying all laws of the United States enacted between 1789 and 1926.

June 28.—The Senate passes the World War Veterans' act, providing hospitalization for women, and general reorganization: the measure goes to conference.

June 29.—In the Senate, the Fess farm credit bill is defeated, 54 to 26; but a House measure establishing a cooperative marketing division in the Department of Agriculture is passed without record vote.

July 1.—In the Senate, the Judiciary Committee is directed to investigate the so-called bread-trust cases in the Federal Trade Commission and the Attorney-General's office.

July 2.—The Senate confirms the appointments of F. Trubee Davison as Assistant Secretary of War for Aviation and of Edward P. Warner as Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Aviation.

The House votes 149 to 115 to postpone passage of the federal judicial salary increase bill.

The first session of the Sixty-ninth Congress comes to an end. . . . The Senate will reassemble November 10 as a court of impeachment to try Judge George W. English; the House reconvenes December 6, unless a special session is called.

George W. Norris (Rep., Neb.) resigns as chairman of the Senate Agricultural Committee.

July 7.—The Senate primary investigating

committee concludes hearings on Pennsylvania elections and adjourns until July 26, when Illinois primaries will be taken up at Chicago; \$2,793,583 was spent for Republican candidates in Pennsylvania.

II. NOTES OF PUBLIC INTEREST

June 14.—President Coolidge names four members of the Board of Mediation (which supplants the Railroad Labor Board); they are: Samuel E. Winslow (Mass.), Edwin P. Morrow (Ky.), G. Wallace Hanger (D. C.), and Hywel Davies (Calif.).

June 16.—Carl Magee, Albuquerque editor, is acquitted by direction of the court in a manslaughter case arising from a political feud.

New Jersey primary elections result in victory for the "drys" in three out of four contests in which prohibition is an issue.

June 17.—Col. Henry W. Anderson resigns as United States agent before the United States-Mexican Claims Commission and is succeeded by J. Reuben Clark, Jr., of Utah.

June 21.—Minnesota primary elections result in nomination of a "wet," Melvin J. Maas, for Congress on the Republican ticket.

In Maine, Governor Ralph O. Brewster is renominated over Arthur L. Thayer by the Republicans.

President Coolidge tells the eleventh meeting of the Business Organization of the Government that he estimates the Treasury surplus at \$390,000,000, with a gross debt reduction during the year of \$836,193,888; the national debt is now \$19,680,000,000.

June 23.—President Coolidge nominates for the U. S. Tariff Commission Messrs. Sherman J. Lowell (N. Y.) and Edgar Bernard Brossard (Utah); Mr. Carl Williams (Okla.) is named for the Railroad Mediation Board.

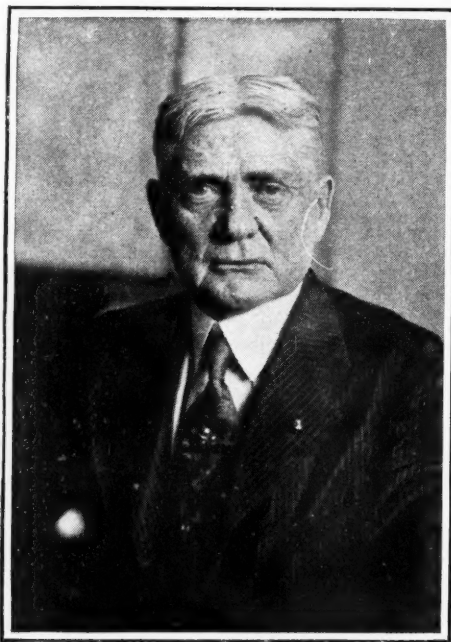
June 29.—Wisconsin Democrats, in convention, endorse for Governor Judge Martin L. Lueck of Beaver Dam, and for Senator, Thomas M. Kearney of Racine.

New Jersey Republicans, in convention, decide that the primary system should be abandoned in favor of the party convention in nominating candidates for Governor and the United States Senate.

June 30.—Edward P. Warner (Mass.) is nominated by President Coolidge for Assistant Secretary of Navy for Aviation.

In North Dakota, Senator Gerald P. Nye is elected for the remainder of the unexpired term of the late Senator Ladd, and is also renominated for a full term over L. B. Hanna, who runs as a Coolidge independent; Governor A. G. Sorlie defeats J. M. Hanley for the governorship.

July 2.—F. Trubee Davison (N. Y.) is named by the President as Assistant Secretary of War for Aviation.



**BRIG.-GEN. ALBERT CLAYTON DALTON,
PRESIDENT OF THE EMERGENCY FLEET
CORPORATION**

(Succeeding Elmer E. Crowley on July 8, General Dalton varies a long career as a fighter and executive by taking a new kind of job that will require the ability gained by his former experience. He has participated in the wars and campaigns of the United States since the Cheyenne Indian affair in 1890. His most recent duty has been as Assistant Quartermaster-General at Washington. He organized the Expeditionary Depot at Philadelphia in 1917 and was general superintendent of Army Transport Service at New York in 1917 and 1918, receiving the D. S. M. for his war service, which included command of the 18th Infantry Brigade in the 9th Division. Born in Tennessee, General Dalton enters upon his new duties at the age of fifty-eight)

President Coolidge signs the Coöperative Marketing bill, the Army Aviation bill, and the War Veterans' bill.

July 3.—President Coolidge signs sixty-three bills at the White House and ninety at the Capitol, on the closing day of the Congress session.

July 5.—The President makes an address at the Sesqui-Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia.

July 7.—The President begins a two-months' vacation at Lake Osgood, N. Y., in the Adirondack Mountains.

William J. Tilson is given a recess appointment as Federal judge for central Georgia.

At Salem, Mass., Vice-President Dawes speaks at the tercentenary celebration.

July 8.—Attorney-General Sargent rules that Secretary Hoover has no power under present law to enforce radio regulations as to time, wave-length, and power governing broadcasting.

Capt. Elmer E. Crowley is removed by the U. S. Shipping Board as president of the Emergency Fleet Corporation; he is succeeded by Brig.-Gen. Albert Clayton Dalton.

July 9.—Col. Carmi Thompson arrives at Manila to investigate the political and economic situation in the Philippines and recommend to the President a program to improve conditions generally.

July 14.—Naval boards of inquiry are appointed to investigate the munitions explosion at Lake Denmark, near Dover, N. J.

III. FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

June 15.—Upon the resignation of Raoul Peret, French Finance Minister, the Briand Cabinet quits despite a favorable vote of 309 to 195, obtained by support from the Right.

June 16.—Premier Mackenzie King of Canada maintains his Liberal Government by defeating a Conservative motion of non-confidence, 107 to 113.

June 17.—Premier José Mendes Cabecadas of Portugal is dismissed by Gen. Manuel Gomes da Costa, who proclaims martial law as dictator.

June 18.—The Canadian House of Commons receives a committee report, prepared after four-months' study, recommending drastic reforms in customs laws and regulations to prevent smuggling.

June 19.—At London, 100,000 women peace marchers, converging from all sections in a national pilgrimage, hold a demonstration against war.

Winston Churchill, Chancellor of Exchequer, warns British traders against lending money to Russia; no claims for losses will be entertained.

June 20.—The German referendum proposing to confiscate royal property fails, despite a vote of 14,889,703 in favor and only 542,311 against; the plebiscite required an affirmative poll of a majority of qualified voters for a valid decision, and it failed by about 5,000,000 through abstention of opponents of confiscation.

June 21.—Polish President Moscicki accepts resignations of Generals Joseph Haller and Count Szeptycki.

June 23.—A new French Cabinet is formed by Aristide Briand, with Joseph Caillaux as Finance Minister.

The Polish Diet adjourns, after failing to agree on the budget or the new Constitution.

June 24.—The House of Lords defeats by vote of 128 to 80 Lord Astor's bill to enable peeresses in their own right to sit in the House of Lords.

June 26.—In Spain, Primo de Rivera, by a sweeping series of arrests, imprisonments, and newspaper censorship, suppresses a threatened revolt; King Alfonso is traveling abroad.

The Canadian House of Commons adjourns at 5:20 A.M. after an excited session in which the Government of Premier Mackenzie King suffers loss of confidence.

June 27.—In Italy, the Fascist chief, Secretary General Turati, uncovers a banking scandal that results in arrests throughout the country.

June 28.—Premier Mackenzie King of Canada resigns after refusal by Lord Byng to dissolve Parliament; Arthur Meighen (Conservative) becomes the new Prime Minister.

June 29.—The British House of Commons passes a Government proposal to lengthen to eight hours the working day in the coal mines; the vote is 355 to 163.

Premier Briand receives a vote of confidence with

his tenth Cabinet, the poll being 290 to 130; 160 members of the Right abstain from voting.

June 30.—Premier Arthur Meighen is sustained by the Canadian Parliament in a vote of confidence, 108 to 101 (see page 135).

July 2.—The Canadian Parliament is dissolved by Governor-General Byng.

July 3.—The Mexican Government decrees confiscation of church property, prohibits the Catholic press from commenting on the Government's religious attitude, and provides penalties for violating the religious laws.

July 6.—The House of Commons votes 181 to 64 to continue emergency regulations put into effect to meet the coal strike.

July 8.—The British Government bill increasing the mine working day to eight hours is passed, the House of Lords resorting to cloture (44 to 4) to prevent Labor disturbance.

July 10.—The French Chamber of Deputies votes confidence in Premier Briand and M. Caillaux on the British debt negotiation and the ratification of that accord and the United States settlement.

The Portuguese dictatorship of Gen. Gomes da Costa is overturned in a *coup d'état* by General Carmona.

July 11.—Boris III, King of the Bulgars, leaves Sofia incognito for a trip abroad with Princess Eudoxia, his sister.

July 12.—Michael Kalenin, Russian Soviet President, defends colonization of Jews on 60,000 dessiatines out of 2,360,000 dessiatines of vacant land in the Crimea (a dessiatine equals 2.702 acres).

IV. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

June 15.—Chile terminates United States mediation in the Tacna-Arica dispute, and the Plebiscite Commission adopts General Lassiter's resolution holding that a plebiscite is impossible, due to Chilean interference and unfairness.

June 17.—The Little Entente (Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia) hold a conference of Foreign Ministers at Bled, Yugoslavia.

The League Mandates Commission approves French rule in Syria by accepting the report of M. Henri de Jouvenal, French High Commissioner; the report will be examined by the League in October.

June 22.—The Pan-American Congress at Panama unanimously adopts a resolution to the effect that any aggressive act "against any of them (American nations), in violation of precepts universally recognized by international law, be considered an offense to all these States and, therefore, to provoke uniform and common reaction by all."

June 25.—The Pan-American Congress at Pana-

ma approves a resolution for creating an American League of Nations.

July 1.—Hassan Taghi Zaden, new Persian Foreign Minister, arrives at New York on a summer visit.

July 2.—The Military Committee of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission rejects the minority report of the United States, Britain, Argentine, and Chile, favoring comparison of naval strength by tonnage of classes of ships.

July 6.—The Military Committee defeats a proposal to compare armaments of various countries on a budgetary basis, United States delegates joining contra; the committee adjourns to August 1.

July 13.—France and Spain approve a treaty on Moroccan accord signed July 10, to maintain peace and security following the end of the Rifian war.

V. IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMICS

June 14.—Secretary Mellon analyzes the Haugen Farm-Relief bill, opposing it on every point, in a letter to Congressman Haugen (the bill is intended to raise basic agricultural prices above world levels and market the surplus abroad on the "dumping" plan).

June 17.—The Chamber of Commerce of the United States reports that half of the value of American exports is composed of raw cotton, automobiles and parts, gasoline and naphtha, leaf tobacco, wheat, refined copper, lard, coal and coke, lubricating oil, and flour.

June 21.—The Associated Advertising Clubs of the World open their convention at Philadelphia.



THREE PRESENT POLISH LEADERS

(Marshal Piłsudski, left, has become permanent military head of the reorganized state. President Ignacy Mościcki, center, assumes the office of chief civil executive. At the right is Premier Casimir Bartel, who is expected to lead in putting through certain constitutional and legislative reforms)

June 22.—William J. Donovan, of the Attorney-General's office, warns a convention of New York bankers that great corporate mergers are violating the anti-trust laws and are a menace.

German exports decrease 49,000,000 marks for

May, the balance of trade still being favorable (27,000,000 marks).

June 24.—The Russo-American Chamber of Commerce is reorganized with Reev Schley as president and Allen Wardwell as vice-president.

June 26.—Governor Robineau is removed as head of the Bank of France by M. Caillaux, who appoints M. Moreau.

The Interstate Commerce Commission rules that equipment trust certificates issued by railroads must be sold by competitive bidding to eliminate alleged banking monopolies.

June 29.—Jeremiah Smith returns a check for \$100,000 for his two years' work in reorganizing Hungarian economics, and requests Premier Bethlen to devote it to charity.

The New York Water Power Commission receives the report of Roy G. Finch, State Engineer, who advises building hydro-electric plants on the St. Lawrence River at once under fifty-year licenses, with State reversion and control of rates.

July 3.—In France, a committee of economic experts recommends a detailed program for balancing the budget, relief of the Treasury by refunding the floating debt, and stabilization of the franc.

July 5.—At New York, 600 subway motormen and switchmen strike for higher pay; the men sacrificed 10 per cent. of their pay five years ago, and only 5 per cent. has been restored.

July 9.—French reconstruction is reported nearly completed, with 1,815,449 hectares out of 1,923,479 restored to cultivation; 53,165 kilometers of highway repaired; and 2,361 kilometers of railway restored; the work has cost 79,000,000,000 francs to date.

July 10.—The total revenue of the United States Government for the fiscal year 1926 (of which six months is under the new low income tax rates) is announced as \$2,836,112,899.68, an increase of \$251,972,631.44 over 1925.

July 12.—An Anglo-French war-debt agreement is signed at London, providing average annual payments by France of £12,500,000 over sixty-two years, beginning at £4,000,000 this year; the debt is reduced by about 60 per cent. and a French gold deposit of £53,000,000 is to be held at London.

The Kansas City *Star* and the *Times* are sold for \$11,000,000 to Irwin Kirkwood, who will organize a corporation for ownership entirely by the staff.

July 13.—The Belgian Chamber confers wide powers upon King Albert to reorganize the economic situation and restore the currency; freight rates are raised and bankers confer on supporting measures.

The United American lines sell the steamships *Reliance*, *Resolute*, and *Cleveland* to the Hamburg-American Line in exchange for cash and an interest in the reorganized company.

The Shipping Board instructs the Emergency Fleet Corporation to sell 250,000 tons of merchant shipping to private American interests.

The war-time Sugar Equalization Board is dissolved, with a total profit to the United States Government of \$41,000,000 as a result of stabilizing prices on the 1917-18 sugar crop.

July 14.—American foreign trade for the fiscal year 1926 amounted to \$9,220,203,697, an increase of \$531,494,158; favorable trade balance decreases from \$1,040,452,789 in 1925 to \$286,828,711 in 1926.

VI. RELIGIOUS CONFERENCES

June 17.—The International Eucharistic Congress of the Roman Catholic Church, at Chicago draws ten Cardinals and 200 bishops and archbishops from forty countries in all parts of the world and hundreds of thousands of pilgrims; it is the first international Roman Catholic Congress held in the United States.

June 18.—Catholic Cardinals are welcomed at Chicago by civic authorities at the Coliseum; Secretary of Labor Davis reads a message from President Coolidge to which John Cardinal Bonzano, the Papal Legate, replies.

June 20.—The International Eucharistic Congress opens formally at Chicago, Cardinal Bonzano presiding.

June 24.—The Eucharistic Congress at Chicago closes with ceremonies at which nearly a million persons attend.

The International New Thought Alliance reelects Mrs. Mary E. T. Chapin as president.

June 26.—The Central Conference of American Rabbis adjourns its annual meeting at Asheville, N. C., with affirmations of loyalty to the laws and institutions of the United States, adherence to liberalism of thought, and for peace among men.

June 28.—The Zionist Organization of America, in convention at Buffalo, repudiates a revisionist program for Palestine by vote of 193 to 7, thus curbing agitation against Arab and British rule.

VII. OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

June 15.—Valley Forge, Pa., celebrates the 148th anniversary of evacuation by Colonial troops.

June 16.—Dr. and Mrs. Herbert S. Dickey arrive at Para, Brazil, from the South American interior; they have motion-picture records of their explorations and of the Jiveros (head hunters).

June 17.—A wreck on the Pennsylvania Railroad near Pittsburgh kills 15 persons and injures 500.

June 23.—Lt. Com. Richard Evelyn Byrd is given an elaborate public welcome in New York and Washington upon his return from the North Pole airplane flight; Commander Byrd and Pilot Bennett receive medals from the President.

June 24.—The Mexican city of Leon, Guanajuato, is partially destroyed by flood.

Gen. George A. Custer's last battle (The Little Big Horn) is celebrated in a three-day semi-centennial by Indian and white veterans of Indian wars at the Crow agency in Montana.

June 25.—Yale beats Harvard in the eight-oared rowing races at New London.

"Bobby" Jones, of Atlanta, Ga., wins the British open golf championship, with a low score of 291; four Americans better the low British score.

June 27.—On the Island of Rhodes in the Aegean Sea, 2000 houses are destroyed by earthquake; shocks are also reported in the eastern Mediterranean, Singapore, and Sumatra.

June 28.—The rowing crew of the University of Washington defeats the Navy and six other crews in the varsity race at Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Dr. Charles R. Stockard, biologist and anatomist, is chosen as a member of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research.

June 30.—The National Education Association hears Dr. Augustus O. Thomas, State Superintendent of Schools in Maine, plead for teaching

"friendship, justice, and good-will instead of race hatred, prejudice, and jealousy."

Air-mail service is opened between New York and Boston by the Colonial Air Transportation Company, under government contract.

July 3.—Roald Amundsen and Lincoln Ellsworth arrive at New York from Nome, Alaska, after having crossed the North Pole in the airship *Norge* from Spitzbergen.

July 5.—The submarine *S-57* is raised, nine months after collision with the *City of Rome* off Block Island, and is towed to New York.

Floods caused by cloud-bursts in Germany cause 31 deaths and \$3,000,000 property loss.

Pope Pius sends an appeal to Catholics throughout the world to pray on August 1 for "cessation of the persecution and pardon of the guilty" in Mexico.

The first world conference on narcotic education is held at Philadelphia.

July 7.—In Japan, west of Osaka, floods destroy 300 houses, inundate 3000, and kill eight people.

Vassar College initiates a summer Institute of Euthenics to teach home building and child training.

July 9.—White Plains, N. Y., celebrates the birth of the State in 1776, when the Provincial Congress of the Colony of New York ratified the Declaration of Independence.

July 10.—The Navy's largest arsenal, near Dover, N. J., is destroyed by lightning; property damage may reach \$100,000,000 or more; thirty persons are killed or missing.

The University of Illinois forbids automobiles to students, on the ground that they lower scholarship and morals.

VIII. OBITUARY RECORD

June 14.—Dr. Walter William Moore, former head of Virginia Union Theological Seminary, 60. . . . Lord Dunraven, British politician, journalist, and yachtsman, 85. . . . Sir William Dunn, London's war-time Mayor, 70.

June 15.—Miss Mary Cassatt, famous painter of women and children, 81. . . . Benjamin Franklin Mebane, North Carolina industrialist, 60.

June 16. Rev. William F. Gowdy, Cincinnati Presbyterian, 72. . . . William Stebbing, London editor, 90.

June 17.—Dr. Russell D. Carmen, noted cancer expert, of Mayo clinic at Rochester, Minn., 51. . . . Mayor Clarence D. Van Zandt, of Rochester, N. Y., 74.

June 18.—Mornay Williams, New York lawyer, 70. . . . Louis Svecenski, violinist, 63. . . . Col. Archibald Hopkins, chief clerk of United States Court of Claims, 84. . . . Marshall Jay Hapgood, Vermont reformer, 77.

June 19.—Olga, former Dowager Queen of Greece, 75.

June 20.—Dr. John Howland, noted authority on children's diseases, 53.

June 21.—Bruce Wyman, of Boston, expert on transportation laws, 50. . . . Frank Albert Root, Kansas newspaper pioneer, 89. . . . Sir Philip Burne-Jones, British painter, 64. . . . Mrs. Kate Jordan Vermilye, author, 65.

June 22.—Augustus George Bullock, Massachusetts insurance expert, 79.

June 23.—Dr. C. C. Wiley, alienist, 72. . . . Harry Scott Grayson, Pennsylvania oil pioneer, 62. . . . Julian Mitchell, theater director, 72.

June 24.—Cleveland Hoadley Dodge, noted philanthropist, 66. . . . Thomas Moore Simonton, lawyer, 47.

June 25.—William Palmer Dixon, lawyer, 79. . . . Alexander Britton, Washington (D. C.) lawyer, 59. . . . Charles E. Fuller, Congressman from Twelfth Illinois District, 77. . . . Com. William Henry Turner, naval aide to President Hayes, 78.

June 27.—Rev. Dr. David Levine, a New York civic leader, 50.

June 28.—Joseph Henry Foster, Rhode Island inventor and historian, 79. . . . Sir John James Baddeley, former Lord Mayor of London, 83.

June 29.—Frank Alfred Howson, composer, 85. . . . Rev. Dr. Arthur John Lockhart, of Massachusetts, Methodist pastor and author, 76. . . . C. W. Rapp, architect, 65. . . . Louis Frederick Holbrook Betts, lawyer, 56.

June 30.—Frederick Cunliffe-Owen, C. B. E., noted British journalist, 72.

July 1.—James Cresson Parrish, railroad financier, 86. . . . Luther C. White, Superintendent of Federal Prisons, 58. . . . Rev. Elliott White, Philadelphia Episcopal Archdeacon, 64. . . . Eva Gore-Booth, Irish poet.

July 2.—Philip Emil Coué, famous French healer, 70. . . . Alexander Del Mar, mining engineer and economist, 90. . . . John William Benson, actor, 64. . . . Gwilym Miles, concert baritone, 59.

July 3.—John James MacLaren, Canadian jurist and Sunday-school leader, 86. . . . Sir Adolph Tuck, British art publisher, 72. . . . Dr. Francis Romeyn Lyman, New York physician, 56. . . . Lee Claflin Hascall, Boston publisher, 61.

July 5.—Alexander Cameron, lawyer, 77. . . . Newton A. Frost, New Hampshire banker, 53. . . . Dr. Otto Wiedfeldt, former German Ambassador to Washington, 55.

July 6.—Edward Russell Thomas, banker and sportsman, 52.

July 7.—Dr. Guillermo Antonia Sherwell, Latin-American expert of Washington, D. C., former chief of Mexican Department of Education, 48. . . . Charles C. Read, Rhode Island textile manufacturer, 79.

July 8.—Col. Benjamin F. Montgomery, U. S. A., retired, former White House telegraph chief, 73.

July 9.—Mother M. Alphonsa Lathrop, Dominican charity worker, who helped cancer victims, 75. . . . The Marquis of Villalobar, Spanish Ambassador to Belgium, 60. . . . Akim Volinsky, Jewish theatrical critic and author.

July 10.—Rear-Adm. William Alexander Marshall, U. S. N., retired, 77. . . . Lt.-Col. Sir John Foster George Ross-of-Bladensburg, Irish hero in Soudan, 77.

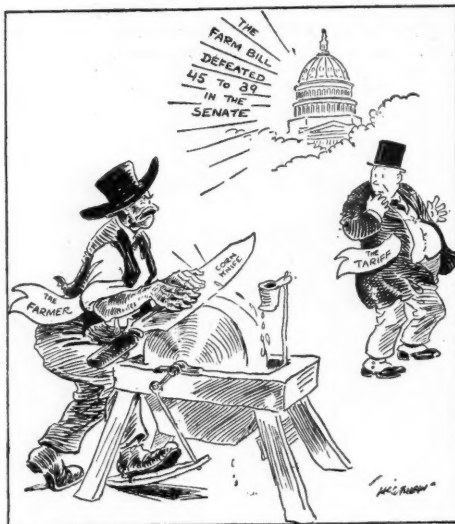
July 11.—Ambrose E. Gonzales, South Carolina author and publisher, 69.

July 12.—John Wingate Weeks, of Massachusetts, former Senator and Secretary of War, 66. . . . Gertrude Margaret Lowthian Bell, British Near East expert. . . . Charles Q. Rand, Chicago inventor of farm machinery.

July 13.—Maj.-Gen. Littleton Waller Tazewell Waller, U. S. M. C., retired, 70. . . . Lincoln J. Carter, Indiana playwright, 61.

July 14.—William H. Morrow, New Jersey jurist, 82. . . . Sheldon Hitchcock Tolles, Cleveland (O.) lawyer, 67. . . . Frank D. Thomason, Chicago patent attorney.

THE MID-SUMMER SEASON, IN CARTOONS



**THE TARIFF MAY YET YIELD A REMEDY FOR
THE WESTERN FARMER**

From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



NO CAMPAIGN WORK FOR CAL.

From the *Evening Post* (New York)



EXPLANATIONS ARE IN ORDER

From the *Press* (Cleveland, Ohio)



TO THE HIGHEST BIDDER?

From the *Evening World* (New York)



A NEW PRIMARY DISEASE AFFECTS THE REPUBLICAN ELEPHANT

From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City, N. J.)



SLIPPING!

From the *Times-Dispatch* (Richmond, Va.)

WITH the adjournment of the first session of the present Congress, on July 3, the members returned home and the President began a vacation at a lake in the Adirondack Mountains. Every member of the House and a third of the Senators face campaigns for reelection; and Republican legislators, especially, may be judged by the accomplishments of their party, which has

been in power at Washington for nearly six years. In the agricultural States of the Middle West, the approaching campaign and election are expected to yield interesting situations. Farm-relief legislation failed in large part during the session just ended,



THE CONTENTED FISHERMAN

From the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, Pa.)



NOT VERY PROUD OF THE WAY THE ANIMAL FITS THE HALTER

From the *World-Herald* (Omaha, Neb.)



MAKING HAY WHILE THE SUN SHINES

From the *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, Wis.)
[Dawes and Lowden, and the farmer vote]

though in the closing weeks it had seemed that the adverse results of Republican senatorial primaries in half a dozen States might cause Administration leaders to aid in the passage of remedial legisla-



KEEP THE SCALE EVEN!

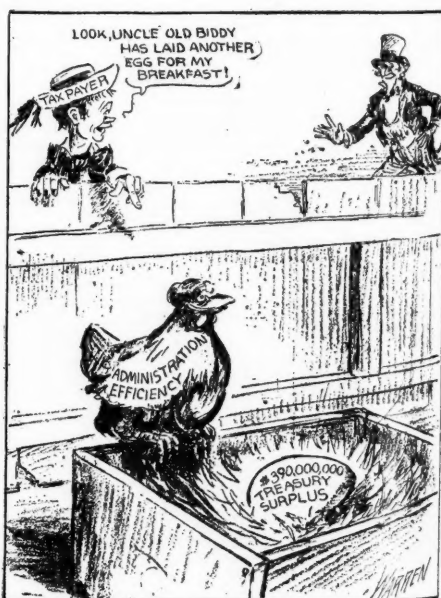
From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco, Cal.)

tion. With their financial achievements, which will appeal to voters in the industrial sections of the country, those same statesmen and political leaders are quite satisfied.



ALTOGETHER TOO ONE-SIDED

From the *Times-Dispatch* (Richmond, Va.)



THE CHAMPION LAYER

From the *News* (Cleveland, Ohio)



IN POLAND

"We have conquered Russia—we have conquered Germany—it only now remains for us to conquer our own country"

From the *Simplicissimus* (Munich, Germany)



VICTORY OF THE WETS IN PENNSYLVANIA

"The first drop"

From the *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)

[This German cartoon conveys the impression that a Wet "victory" brings about a Wet state of affairs in any given locality. The American reader understands a contrary situation]



AT THE TABLE OF THE WORLD

THE OTHER NATIONS (to Italy, at the right): "Why don't you join in?" ITALY: "Not until I am dying of hunger!"

From the *Il Travaso* (Rome, Italy)

[Portugal is being refused admission. Uncle Sam's table is laden with gold, oil, coal, and moving pictures. Japan is dissecting Manchuria. Spain's small portion is the Moroccan region known as the Riff. Brazil finds no seat, not even a stool. Britain has large portions of oil, colonies, and empire. Germany is reaching out for revenge. France has Syria, Morocco, etc.]



THE RESULT OF THE REFERENDUM

Safe behind the Hindenburg line
From *De Groene Amsterdammer*. (Amsterdam, Holland)

[The German President, Hindenburg, championed the cause of the deposed Kaiser, and the proposal to confiscate royal property failed to pass at the recent election]



ABOVE AND BENEATH THE PEACE TABLE AT GENEVA

From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)

THE LONG ROAD TO DISARMAMENT

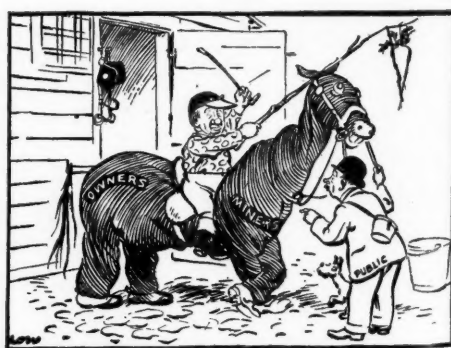
From the *Notenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)

JOHN BULL AND HIS POLISH MARIONETTE

From the *Pravda* (Moscow, Russia)

TO THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE!

[Holland's official delegation]

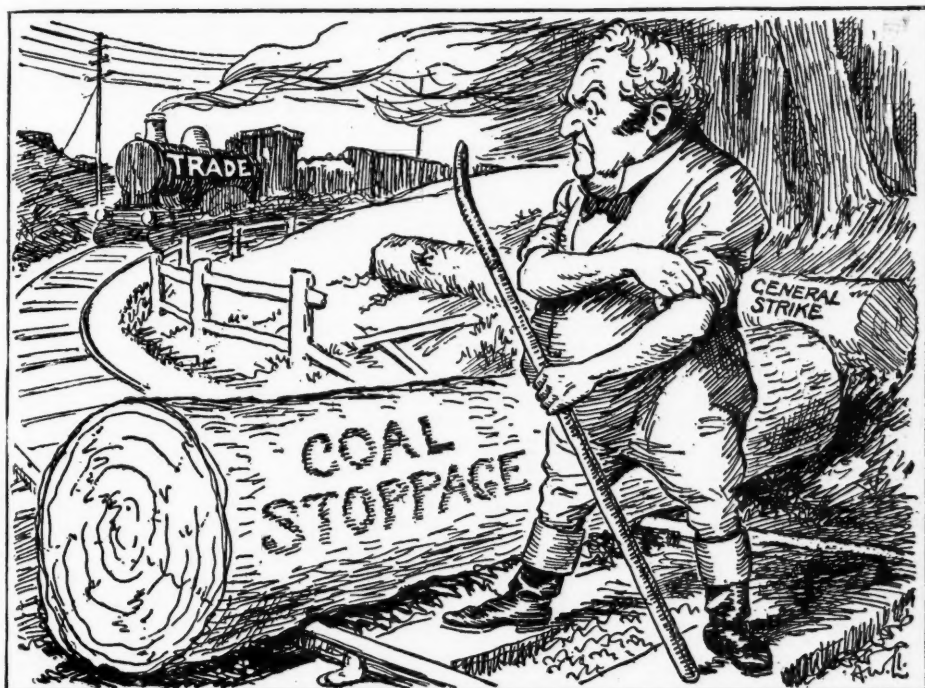
From the *Notenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)

BRITAIN'S PREMIER AND THE COAL STRIKE

"Why not give the back end a smack, Stanley?"

From the *Siar* (London, England)

[The
Great B
coal indu
Comple
an indu
the Eng
moder
being do



THE LINE STILL BLOCKED

JOHN BULL: "Well, as I shifted the bigger one, this should not be impossible."

From the *News of the World* (London, England)

WHILE ROME BURNS

From the *Weekly Dispatch* (London, England)

[The reader will remember that though the general strike in Great Britain came to an end after ten days, the stoppage in the coal industry entered its third month without sign of adjustment. Complete stagnation in so important an industry has aggravated an industrial situation that was already quite serious. Thus the English cartoon pictures the British coal industry as a modern Nero fiddling unconcernedly while untold damage is being done to business in general.]



"BRINGING UP FATHER"

PAPA OXFORD: "This is going to hurt me more than it does you. I hope you realize that, George?"
 LLOYD GEORGE: "Yes, sir . . . do you?"

From the *Sphere* (London, England)

[The two leaders of the Liberal party in Great Britain have differed recently in matters of policy, and Lord Oxford—the former Premier Asquith—was not wholly the gainer.]

TWELVE YEARS AFTER

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. The Anniversary

THE publication date of the present number of this magazine coincides with the twelfth anniversary of the outbreak of the World War, and once more inevitably our minds travel backward to the tragic and feverish days which began with the ultimatum of Austria to Serbia and marched ineluctably to the fatal climax, which was the German declaration of war upon Russia on August 1.

There is, perhaps, no more difficult task than that of trying to reconstruct the world in which all of us lived at the moment when the blow fell—for the mass of mankind—utterly unexpectedly and with shattering suddenness. Yet, in so far as such a reconstruction is possible, there must be a clear perception that the world of July, 1914, has vanished; that in no country, save perhaps to a degree in our own, do the problems which now confront governments and men bear any real resemblance to those other and far less terrible problems of the pre-war days.

Somewhere between the opening guns of August, 1914, and the present hour, a whole world has vanished—not at once, not as the war came with shattering speed, not so much during the war when there was rather a suspension of normal things than a change, but vanishing rather in the years since the close of actual hostilities. Once the struggle was over, men and women, governments and nations, set out with a certain measure of hope, born of relief from the agonies of the combat and its consequences behind the firing lines, to rebuild, on the ruins of the past, structures which should resemble the old. There was to be a new world, certainly; but inevitably the new world in the minds of men was merely a better form of the old one.

It is fairly clear now, nearly eight years after the close of the actual fighting, that the effort to rebuild the Old World has failed. It does not matter what European country

you choose to take as a measuring stick and compare it with itself a dozen years ago, the result is infallibly the same. Britain, struggling with her terrific burden of unemployment and her frightful problems of labor can in no real sense be compared with the Britain which in the first decade of the present century, after the brief experience of the Boer War, seemed to be settling into another hundred years of triumphant imperialism as brilliant as the last.

France, Germany, Italy, all are incalculably removed from the situation and conditions of 1914, and there is the clear consciousness in all three that the movement is still away from the ancient landmarks. Austria is gone, Russia has become the supreme enigma of our own time concerning which we know nothing except that it will never again under any circumstances be the Russia of the Romanoffs. As for the rest, Europe is strewn with the debris of broken empires and shaken by the initial efforts of new States.

Looking at Europe with any objectivity at the present moment, one cannot fail to have some vague appreciation of the fact that a whole political conception, a whole ideal and reality of political life, is breaking down or has broken down. Secure in our own prosperous and isolated world, removed from the conditions which are operating on the other side of the Atlantic, we continue to speak of democracy in the traditional voice of Fourth of July orations. But it is none the less true that, outside of the United States, that democracy which existed before 1914, and that conception toward which the world was still driving when the greatest of all wars came, has received a blow which may be fatal.

Temporarily, perhaps permanently, representative democracy has broken down. The system and the method are no longer producing the men or the measures which are adequate to deal with contemporary

problems. Grave as are these problems, none of them is in itself insoluble; the labor troubles of Britain, the financial ills of France, both have remedies which are not only patent but have been proven in past time to be sufficing. Yet neither the French nor the British democracy has been able to solve these problems, to apply these remedies; while Italy, like many other smaller countries, has in despair rather than with initial enthusiasm turned to some form of dictatorship as the sole alternative to progressive anarchy.

I remember that last winter, when I was in Budapest, it was explained to me that the Bela Kun revolution of 1919, which did such fatal injury to Hungary, could have been prevented by one resolute lieutenant and a single file of soldiers. But both were lacking, and as a consequence one of the oldest and proudest States in Europe was broken into economic and political fragments. Whether one examines the question of reorganizing the coal industry of Britain or stabilizing the franc in France, it is plain that either problem could of itself be solved with complete efficiency if only imponderable elements did not interfere.

We are seeing a political revolution following an armed upheaval. From Madrid to Moscow, and from London to Angora, men are wrestling with issues and problems of incalculable magnitude; but in some countries the adherence to traditional methods has brought no solution, while in others rash or sweeping experiments with new methods have so far brought confusion rather than relief. In America the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of our own undertaking of the democratic experiment finds us contented and still convinced of the perfection of the system. But with equal unanimity one will find from one end of Europe to the other the conviction that democracy has failed and that the alternative, now, is between some drastic transformation and the frank recognition that, like monarchy in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries, it must now be abandoned because it is inapplicable to new conditions.

There is, then, a rather amazing thing taking place. We in America, who have long felt ourselves with some justice to be pioneers on the road toward the realization of a democracy which had universal application, are now finding ourselves anchored to

an institution and an idea which Europe is beginning to discard generally. We in our own minds have watched Europe from afar, waiting the day when it would come to the republican form of government. But on how many sides was it said to me in Europe last winter: "Democracy has broken down everywhere. It is doomed. Even in America the fatal signs are visible."

At the moment when the war ended, there was a very conscious turning of Europe in our direction. We were rich, happy, powerful, the single great edifice unshaken by the storm. Was it not natural to feel that in our American experience and system Europe would find the necessary light and leading to reorganize its own continent and enter into the same conditions of peace and prosperity? The United States was for a year, perhaps, like a lighthouse to the storm-tossed mariners. It seemed to mark a harbor, to promise a protection.

All that is over now. If Europe continues to look with wonder and perhaps a measure of envy at our material well-being, it is not less true that Europe is perfectly convinced of the fact that politically there is to be no inspiration and no example for it in the United States. Our political methods, forms, conceptions, have been definitively rejected by Europe; and it has almost consciously turned its back upon our example and set out to explore new ways because it regards ours as without usefulness for it.

Thus between the new world and the old the gap is not narrowing, but widening. Of this fact one is least conscious in examining the British situation, and yet beneath the surface the difference is unmistakably enormous. For the British Labor party, which is not merely the opposition but is growing steadily, there is not the smallest sympathetic association with either of our great political parties, while by contrast there is real solidarity in ideas with the radical parties in many continental countries.

We went to Europe in 1917 repeating, perhaps a little parrot-like, the declaration that we were coming to "make the world safe for democracy." But the democracy which we preached and practised has been rejected by Europe, rejected with finality. The war, which swept before it so many ruins, is not to be replaced by something which was developed in America while

European institutions broke down because of the fatal weakness of its own methods.

Following the war, which destroyed so much of the coherence of institutions and so many of the illusions of men, there has come a great revolution, perhaps only beginning, but progressed far enough now to make it clear that the effect of the war was not temporarily to suspend but actually to abolish; launched against kings, the great storm which little by little was loosed by the war has in the long last reacted upon democracy, upon parliamentary democracy. The kings are gone, they become more and more pale and remote figures. William I living is hardly more vital than George III, dead this long century. But the tempest which uprooted thrones seems still unsatisfied, while democratic edifices are crumbling and shaking perilously under the blasts.

Moreover, insensibly, Europe is becoming absorbed in this revolution. Less and less

do we hear on our side of the Atlantic the clash of the national rivalries and aspirations which the war taught us a little to recognize if not to understand. Somehow we do not hear much now of new Franco-German wars, of impending conflicts from the Dniester to the Saar. And yet—striking paradox—the turmoil continues, Europe remains in convulsion, we have visible and tangible evidences of upheaval perpetually. Moreover, in the midst of all the turmoil and upheaval there is beginning to be a certain faint suggestion of order. Europe is done trying to get back to 1914. It is equally done with trying to translate the American experience to its own shores. Now it is striving, with the penalty of death possibly accompanying failure, to find some answer to the eternal riddle. Its kings have failed it, its democracy has betrayed it. Is there a third way? Is the third way Bolshevism, Fascism, or what?

II. The German Referendum

Since I wrote my last month's article, the most interesting foreign event has unquestionably been the German referendum. Most interesting because it has supplied one more satisfactory test of the German state of mind, a test indeed more satisfying than all others, for it was had at a moment when Germany's relations with other countries were so calm as to exercise no disturbing influence upon a national discussion.

When the kings and princes scuttled out of Germany in advance of the revolutionary wave of November 9, 1918, they naturally left behind them a vast accumulation of property representing accretions which had come with the centuries. What to do with this vast accumulation has remained a problem. Should it be seized as national property, expropriated outright? Should it be taken under agreement at a price which did not represent its actual value but would quiet the equity of the princes? Should it be bought at market prices which would represent an enormous national expenditure wholly beyond the resources of Germany to-day, stricken with burdens?

Quite naturally, the "left"—radicals, Socialists, and Communists—said, "Let's take it outright, seize it. Down with the princes." The issue inevitably served to rally all the old and new opponents of the

former sovereigns. On the other hand, it aroused the apprehensions of not a few who had little concern for the princes but saw in this proposed expropriation the entering wedge. If the property of princes were seized to-day, why not the property of business leaders to-morrow? Why not all private property if socialism came to complete power one day? Why not that of the Church, itself?

As for the royalists (the Nationalists), naturally they were for paying the princes their price. They were concerned with the invasion of the principle, not of property but of monarchy. Germany was thus divided into three camps: the radicals, who wanted to expropriate; the moderates, who were not interested in royalty but were concerned with the protection of property rights and fearful of the evils which might result from establishing the precedent of expropriation; and, finally, the monarchists, for whom seizure of royal property was only one more assault upon the divine right of kings.

The first test of the real feeling of the nation came in the spring when, pursuant to the Weimar Constitution, petitions were circulated which sought and obtained the requisite number of signatures to warrant a plebiscite. More than twelve million voters demanded that there be a referendum.

As a result it was ordered, and Germany entered a new period of violent political agitation during which the Luther Cabinet itself fell, not on this issue but in part, perhaps, as a consequence of it. Hindenburg, breaking his traditional silence, issued a vehement protest against the expropriation, and it became an open secret that he intended to resign if it carried. His intervention, too, accentuated the bitterness of the conflict and drew down upon him the sharpest criticism he has yet had to endure.

The conditions of the referendum were simple. There are approximately 40,000,000 voters in Germany. If the referendum were to be carried, a majority of this enrollment had to vote; and the proponents of expropriation had to obtain the votes of a majority, something like 20,000,000 votes. Thus, to defeat it, the course of all opponents was plainly to abstain from voting altogether, since it was clear from the outset that a majority of those voting would favor the proposal.

In the election, something more than 15,000,000 votes were cast and a little less than 15,000,000 favored the expropriation. The proposal was thus defeated by the abstentions. But the nominal victory of the opponents was in reality unimportant in comparison with the strength disclosed by the proponents. Actually they polled but 40 per cent. of the enrolled voters; but in fact the Germans actually voting rarely number 30,000,000, and the champions of expropriations thus polled at least half of the active voting population.

In reality the vote showed that considerable inroads had been made in both the Democratic and Clerical ranks, and that the members of those parties had refused to follow the orders of their leaders and abstain. Moreover, the returns in the cities showed surprising strength for the radicals, who polled much more than half the registered vote. It was only in the country, and particularly in the Prussian country, that the abstentions passed 50 per cent. Thus the ultimate result of the test was to demonstrate that the bitterness against the former rulers in Germany remained so strong that at least half of the active voting population favored seizing their property without any compensation.

If any test of the strength of the republic were to be read into the vote, one would have to reckon on several millions more of

voters who were opposed to the principle of expropriation not for royal reasons, but because of personal and material interests, but who would quite solidly rally to the defense of the republic against any attempt to restore the exiled sovereigns. All in all, then, while it failed to achieve the result for which it was designed, the referendum did accomplish the very great results of showing not alone that a majority of Germans are against the monarchy, but also that, measured by all recent standards, the monarchy is losing ground. And it was in this sense that the world interpreted the outcome. Even in Paris, where doubts are naturally strongest, conviction was at last apparent.

Now, in the end, it is likely that some settlement will be patched up, although the first attempt has ended in deadlock and postponement. But the spectacle of the princes insisting upon their pocketbook interests, at the moment when all the country is still enduring hardships resulting from the last war, will hardly strengthen the royal cause. Meantime the election returns will serve as a formidable discouragement to any party or group which would venture a new, violent effort to upset the republic.

One might, I think, without too great hazard, go farther and point out that the German republic has in all human probability passed the critical period. It will live now, both because conditions are likely to improve and the fatal contrast between the prosperity of pre-war imperial days and present republican days will disappear, and because business will be more and more aware of the fact that any attempt to overturn the republic would involve domestic disturbance which might have fatal consequences even if no foreign intervention were provoked.

As long as the German republic was the product of the radical elements, as long as it was primarily dominated by the Socialists, the monarchists could count upon the support of all the conservative elements. As long as the issue was between a radical republic controlled by socialists and a monarchy controlled by conservatives, the monarchist cause had a very great support which was not based primarily upon any monarchist sentiment.

It was only after the Battle of the Ruhr had been fought and lost that Big Business—the German Peoples' party, the party of Stresemann—at last recognized that Ger-

many could only be saved politically and restored economically by foreign aid and that aid could only come to a republic. Hitherto the battle had been between republic and monarchy. Henceforth it was to be between radical and conservative elements within the republic. The Peoples' party accepted the republic; it abandoned all part in the effort to restore the empire; but, having made this full surrender of its past, it undertook to rally to itself the support of the Bourgeois elements which were republican in politics but conservative in business, drawing mainly upon the Democrats and Catholics. Thus there was created a center *bloc* which stood midway between the monarchists and the Socialists, obtaining Socialist support for a concessive foreign policy and monarchist support for conservative domestic policies. The Socialists lost control of the republic, although they remained the largest single party. But the monarchists remained unable to upset the republic.

Under the several Luther-Stresemann governments there has been a steady effort to persuade the monarchists, the Nationalists, to drop the issue of form of government and join in the making of a kind of republic. On the whole this effort has so far failed, and the Bourgeois groups—the Peoples, Democratic, Centrum, and Bavarian People's parties—counting a little less than 40 per cent. of the membership of the Reichstag, have continued to live from hand to mouth, now getting support from the Socialists, now from the monarchists, but always remaining clearly hostile to any actual attempt at restoration.

In this situation the recent referendum is an enormous help to the central *bloc*. It shows not only that the republic is on the gain but also that the radical elements are increasing; it shows 15,000,000 voters violently hostile to royalty, and it gives to the monarchists themselves clear warning that unless they cease the useless fight against the republic and join with the Bourgeois republican parties in fighting the Socialists and Communists within the republican edifice, these elements may one day capture control of the republican machinery with economic consequences which would be disastrous in the extreme.

To-day the alternative is more clearly put than ever. If the Nationalists join the Bourgeois parties, a majority can be had

in the Reichstag and a stable government established—a majority government, which has not existed since the election following the occupation of the Ruhr three years ago. But such a combination is only possible if it is based on a final and convincing acceptance of the republic, the abandonment of all effort to overturn it.

The Marx Cabinet of the moment is only a transitional affair, made to bridge the time of the referendum and replace the Luther Cabinet which fell because the Socialists refused to support it longer, holding it to be too sympathetic with the Nationalists, while the Nationalists regarded it as too republican. Of course there is no present issue of republic versus monarchy, because even the Nationalists are in the main wise enough to see that an attempt at restoration now would be madness. But what has to come before there can be stable conditions is the tacit acceptance of the republic by all the elements which might make a conservative party.

Had the German republic remained in Socialist hands, had the conditions of German life at home and of German relations with foreign countries remained what they were up to and through the Ruhr time, a return to the monarchy would have been well-nigh inevitable. But the Socialists no longer control the republic, German domestic conditions are slowly becoming tolerable, and the restoration of German prestige abroad follows Locarno unmistakably.

In a sense, the latest referendum does not change anything; the tide was already setting hard in this direction. But it gives point, and sharp point, to certain facts. The radicals who forced the referendum lost their main objective but established their strength and that of the republic, or, more exactly, emphasized the weakness of the princes; what now remains to be seen is, whether in the end their enemies will take the lesson to heart, and, accepting the republic, join with the Bourgeois parties in controlling it.

Perhaps I should add, to avoid any seeming contradiction with what was said in the opening chapter of this article, that while Germany seems definitely adhering to the republic, what is actually occurring is the acceptance of the passing of the monarchy. For democratic principles, as we understand them, there is little enthusiasm in Germany, just as there is little faith in republican formulæ.

Parliamentary democracy in Germany has proved so far as little of a success as it is proving in France or Italy, where it has been discarded. The republic in Germany may take the Fascisti form, like the monarchy in Italy, or it may swing to the left, although neither Fascism nor Bolshevism are in accord with German character. But while Germany seems now unlikely to

go back to the kings, the problem of making democracy work is precisely as acute in Germany as elsewhere, and the republic lives not so much because of any enthusiasm for it as because of the survival and even the growth of the animosity to an old régime and a resentment of its failures, its stupidities, and the consequences its blunders and worse had for the whole people.

III. Mosul and Britain's Treaty with Turkey

Quite as considerable a contribution to the general stabilizing process of affairs as was the German referendum has been the final adjustment between Turkey and Great Britain—with the more or less shadowy state of Iraq in the background—of the long-contested question of Mosul. There is to be no Anglo-Turkish war, such as was threatened a year ago and has actually been a continuing menace ever since the Turkish resurgence in the Greek War.

In this settlement, British diplomacy has achieved its most striking victory since the World War. In fact, a controversy which has lasted from November, 1918, to the present hour has been removed from the list of potential war causes, at least for a very considerable length of time. Although the French campaign in Syria continues and may cause further trouble yet, the collapse of the Riffian rebellion has freed large French contingents, and the end of the uproar between The Straits and the Persian Gulf is in sight.

The Mosul controversy in its first phase was between the French and the British. During the war these countries partitioned the Near East, and France obtained as her share not only Syria as it now exists but considerable territories north of the Gulf of Alexandretta and Mosul itself. But at the same time the British gave assurances to the Arabs that they would be permitted to create a new Arab state, including all Asiatic Arab lands, and on this basis valuable Arab aid against the Turks was obtained.

At the close of the war the French came forward with their treaty—the Sykes-Picot Treaty—dividing the old Turkish lands, while the Emir Feisal appeared at Paris to assist in the creation of the new Arab state. The result was a miserable and terribly expensive Franco-British quarrel which had supremely disastrous effects for

all concerned. Turkey, for the moment, was out of the reckoning, but the Arabs were there; and France and Italy both demanded territorial accessions at the expense of the Turk.

The British traditionally were opposed to the establishment of any European state upon the flank of the route to India. They wanted to see an Arab state which would, in fact, be their state, for their influence would be supreme. Thus against the French they backed the Arabs, while later, with French assent, they threw the Greeks against the Turks in a rush to anticipate Italian occupation of Smyrna.

France and Italy were both indignant. The French were able to make good their claim to most of Syria, although they resigned Mosul to the Arabs, who obtained a limited area, having to yield Syria to the French and Palestine to the British. Arab resentment was intense, and both the British and the French were forced to undertake military operations. The present French trouble in Syria is a direct outgrowth of this denial of Arab rights, although there are other elements involved.

Meantime, the Turks rallied and overturned the Greeks, while the French and Italians, angry with the British, made peace separately with the Turk. The Italians retired from the mainland of Anatolia about the Gulf of Adalia. The French gave up Adana and a considerable strip of territory along the northern limits of Syria. It was generally believed that the Turks were able also to obtain military supplies from both the Italians and the French, which aided them against the Greeks.

In any event, in the summer and fall of 1923, the Turks smashed the Greeks and came storming back to the Straits. Lloyd George issued a frantic appeal to the British Dominions and to France and Italy

to join in checking the Turks, but on both sides the response was cold. An Anglo-Turkish war seemed imminent, until British sentiment refused to support Lloyd George and he fell, while Europe went to Lausanne to make a new treaty with the Turk.

But conditions had changed greatly in five years. The Turk was no longer depressed by a series of unsuccessful wars; he was flushed with recent victory. Moreover, the whole Mohammedan world—India, Persia, Iraq, Palestine, Syria, and North Africa—had been aroused by the news of Turkish victory, and there seemed to be the prospect of a general revolt of Islam against the Christian powers. At Lausanne the Turks took a very high tone, and in the end the treaty which was made was a crippling blow to European prestige.

In the settlement, the question of Mosul was left pending. The French had retired from the dispute, but the Turks, who had never formally ceded it, now insisted upon their sovereignty. The British situation was complicated, too, because at home there was a growing agitation against the high costs of the Mesopotamian and Palestine mandates and a general desire to see Britain retire from this area.

For the moment, the Turks, with their threat of war, seemed to have the better of the situation. The British, however, having accepted the mandate for the Iraq, stood committed. To satisfy their home sentiment, they now made a new agreement with the Iraq providing for their own retirement when the frontiers of the Iraq had been fixed and this Arab state admitted to the League of Nations.

Meantime, the Mosul question was sent to a League of Nations commission for settlement. This commission presently returned a verdict unsatisfactory alike to the British and the Turks. Recognizing that the Arabs alone could never hold Mosul against the Turks, the commission ruled that Mosul should go to the Turks unless the British were willing to undertake a new mandate for the Iraq lasting for a quarter of a century. The Turks insisted that the decision recognized their rights, and that in any event it was not the duty of the commission to make a final disposition of Mosul but only to make a few boundary rectifications. The British were indignant, because they saw themselves loaded with a continuing and expensive responsibility in the Near East at a time

when their home financial situation was well-nigh desperate.

Nevertheless, the British reluctantly agreed to accept the terms of the decision. The Turks, by contrast, began to send troops to Mosul and the situation seemed to be critical. Unfortunately for the Turks, however, the British found strong aid in the generally known purpose of Italy to reassert her claims to Anatolian territory. Mussolini's speeches had a direct warning for Angora and a cleverly timed visit of Sir Austen Chamberlain to Rome last year gave pause to Kemal Pasha, and his nationalistic friends.

So, in the end, Turkey and Britain have signed a treaty which in the main gives force to the League of Nations decision, although actually it involves bargains which the League of Nations could hardly be a party to. Mosul remains in the hands of the Arab state—which is, of course, the ward of Britain for another twenty-five years. The Turks get a slight frontier gain, and they are permitted a 10 per cent. participation in oil revenues, for it must always be remembered that the Mosul issue actually had its origin in the supposed oil deposits. These were the prizes fought for.

These oil profits, however, the Turks have been able, it would seem, to turn into ready cash. In a word, as a result of the bargain, they will obtain from the British cash or credit to a considerable amount. Turkey had to choose between another dangerous war and the sacrifice of certain aspirations. But obviously in her present state Turkey needs peace and money to develop. Thus the treaty represents the Turkish sale of unrealizable claims for funds which will enable her to consolidate her present position.

Much has been said about the existence of an agreement between Britain and Turkey guaranteeing the security of Turkey. Probably no written commitment was made, but it is patent that British influence will now be exerted to support the integrity of Turkey, because Turkey now, once more, passes into the orbit of British policy. The traditional Beaconsfield policy of maintaining Turkish independence seems likely to be revived in full force.

This is the more likely because the whole struggle in Turkey in the recent months has been between Russia and Great Britain. Russia has been cleverly and actively seeking to throw not only Turkey but the

whole of Asia against Britain. At one stage a Russo-Turkish Treaty was made which aroused grave British apprehensions. But in the end the Turks with obvious wisdom, have decided to play with the British rather than with the Soviets.

The whole British policy with respect of Turkey since the war has been a stupid blunder, chargeable to the ignorance of Lloyd George. At bottom British policy is best served by the preservation of semi-independent states, such as Turkey and the Iraq, dependent actually upon herself. But it was equally silly to quarrel with the French over Syria, because while British opposition to French policy made the French situation difficult, the revolt of the Arab population created a state of unrest in all the Near East, which in the end was bound to react upon British areas.

Thus the British have repaired two mistakes. They have made peace with the Turk under conditions which must bind the Turk to Britain, both for political and financial reasons. At the same time they have reached a general settlement with the French, and British criticism of French policy in the Near East has disappeared. Indeed, there are many reports that France and Britain have reached a general agreement on all questions affecting the Mediterranean, the Near East, and North Africa.

Once more it appears to be Italy which suffers most from the turn of events, for while the British cleverly capitalized Italian aspirations in Anatolia, Italy did not succeed in making good any of her claims and now must reckon with British opposition in any effort to upset the status quo. The most Italy seems to have acquired is some sort of British aid in a project to build a new railway into Abyssinia, which will more or less compete with the French line from Jibouti, an arrangement which irritates the French but is not of great importance.

All the trouble in the Near East had its origin in the quarrels between the great powers over the spoils. The Turks were "down and out," and might have been kept in that state. Anatolia might have been partitioned as the Arab area was, and Constantinople and the Straits finally disposed of. But the moment was lost and the Turkish revival brought with it unrest in all of Islam which has cost Britain and France much all the way from Calcutta to Casablanca.

Now, however, there is every promise of a period of calm. Both the British and the French are satisfied with the status quo in the Near East. Both have appreciated the perils incident to conflicting aspirations. Both are concerned alike with avoiding any general Mohammedan uprising and any extension of Bolshevik influence. Less publicly proclaimed, but quite as real, is the common desire to prevent Italy from disturbing the status quo in the Mediterranean. Thus French interests in the Western Mediterranean, and British in the Eastern, supply a basis for common policy.

Spain, too, through the Riffian war, has been drawn away from Italian and toward French associations. A recent effort of Rome to seize upon the settlement following the Riffian war to claim Moroccan rights, notably in the internationalized area of Tangier, has come to nothing and been abandoned. And there is a growing appreciation in Rome that Italian aspirations for new lands and a new deal in the Mediterranean are bound to come into collision with a rather definite Anglo-French policy.

But such considerations are for the future. At the moment the Anglo-Turkish agreement has rescued Britain from the consequences of mistakes and accidents following the end of the war, reestablished and even strengthened British position, abolished for the present the danger of any general Islamic disturbance, and—aside from Syria—prevented any material change in the territorial situation in the Near East following the war. Russia is not at Constantinople nor Italy at Smyrna, while Britain is in Bagdad, Jerusalem, and now Mosul.

To believe that the settlement is permanent, or that the Arabs will now accept a final loss of either Palestine or Syria is to believe what is unlikely. But there is sound reason for believing that for a time, perhaps for a number of years, the Near East is removed from the list of regions in which there is danger of any explosion which may disturb three continents. Moreover, the whole world is bound to recognize that however temporarily unsuccessful British domestic policy may be in meeting grave economic crises, abroad British diplomacy and statesmanship is proving as adroit and able as at any period.

Three years ago, when the Turks came to Chanak, British prestige was at dead low-

water mark; to-day it has regained all of its old ascendancy. All in all, it is hard to exaggerate the greatness of British success here, as it is difficult to estimate the consequences for the world, although it seems certain that most, if not all, of these con-

sequences will prove advantageous, for the immediate present at least. Thus the Mosul Treaty must count as one more step in the general pacification, and the longest step yet taken in the storm-stricken region of the Near East.

IV. More French Chaos, and American Debts

The past month has seen an aggravation, rather than an alleviation, of the French financial crisis. Another Briand cabinet has fallen and still another has been constituted. But what signifies is that the effort to arrive at a cabinet of concentration—that is, to get a cabinet in which all the groups and parties would be represented, and national defense would replace political considerations—has failed.

As a result, M. Briand has for his eleventh cabinet a quite colorless combination, with M. Caillaux as Finance Minister the single striking circumstance. But this cabinet, as was demonstrated on the first test, has failed to enlist universal support and stands in the immediate peril of falling between two stools. It is rejected by the Socialists led by M. Leon Blum, and by the Nationalists headed by M. Louis Marin.

Caillaux himself has come back, bringing with him the report of the experts which offered a formula for stabilization of the franc and included as a major thesis the acceptance of debt accords with both Great Britain and the United States. After the debt accords, the program looked to the obtaining of large foreign loans as the essential detail in the stabilization of the franc.

But the Socialists and the Nationalists are equally opposed to the ratification of the debt accords—that is, to the acceptance of existing terms. And, oddly enough, both are opposed to the making of new foreign loans, although for utterly different reasons; the Socialists because they are seeking to establish their pet project of a capital levy, the Nationalists because they see in new debts the further loss of French political independence.

In the first test in the Chamber, and after a bitter debate, the new ministry barely won a vote of confidence by a total of 269 to 247. But this meager majority of 22 was balanced by at least 40 abstentions, and it was obvious that the nominal victory was a real defeat because the new

government failed to get that decisive majority which alone would enable it to carry out the drastic program it had in mind. Caillaux's bid for unrestricted power met with a cool and even suspicious hearing.

In sum, then, Briand is where he was before. He has a weak cabinet, a practically non-existent majority. He is at the mercy of the winds and may fall at any moment, while it is practically impossible that he accomplish any real thing. Meantime the franc has fallen from three cents to two and one-half, and a brief rally has rather momentarily checked than arrested the inevitable *degringolade*.

The simple fact is that the mass of the French people are not yet aware of the gravity of the situation, and the mass of the politicians are afraid of the personal consequences of giving their constituents bitter medicine, which alone can help. The whole system of parliamentary democracy has broken down, and French finances are going to disaster quite unnecessarily because government can not govern.

At the same time, there has been a new revelation of the depth of French resentment of the American attitude in the matter of debts in the decision of the mutilated veterans of the war to make a monster demonstration on Bastille Day at the foot of the Statue of Washington and at the doors of the American Embassy. The effort of the Cabinet to prevent this parade of protest broke down when it became clear that it would be necessary to employ military strength to check it, and that Paris would be treated to the spectacle of valid soldiers arresting and dispersing the wounded of the conflict.

My readers will recall, perhaps, that I have steadily in recent months, from Europe as well as in this country, emphasized the development of anti-American feeling abroad. It has become well-nigh universal, and there seems no prospect of any lessening in contemporary times. It is felt from London to Moscow that the American

attitude toward Europe has been selfish and Shylockian. It may be easily possible for Americans to prove to their own satisfaction that such a view is both absurd and ungrateful, but this does not modify the actual situation.

As things stand, it is highly unlikely that the French will accept the Berenger-Mellon debt agreement. No government could pass it through the Chamber at the moment and without essential amendments, or, as we say, reservations. France as a whole is absolutely unwilling to undertake to pay her allies unless it be agreed, in advance that her payments shall be conditional upon German renderings of reparations.

If, at some future time, in the face of utter disaster, the French do yield, then it will be with the tacit reservation that payment according to the terms will not be made, because the terms are impossible. The French view is that the terms are impossible and that it would be an act of dishonor to promise to pay, knowing payment could not be made. But if our insistence creates a situation in which France can get the funds to escape from ruin only by making promises which can not be fulfilled, then the responsibility will be ours.

I think it is regarded as axiomatic in Europe that none of the inter-allied debts will ever be paid to any considerable extent. Present debt settlements are viewed as no more than political, not financial, arrangements which may serve a useful purpose in helping to bring about a general adjustment; but once a general adjustment has been reached it will have to go overboard.

When the British, in the Balfour Note, came forward and announced that all war debts ought to be cancelled and that they were ready to forgive all their debtors if we would forgive them, they—quite unfairly but ever so completely—loaded us up with the responsibility for the existence of debts. To-day all the nations holding claims upon Germany under reparations are ready to apply the Balfour dictum. Thus the Germans in their turn will presently hold us responsible for what they have to pay, because if we were to cancel the allied debts, their creditors would cancel reparations.

The bald fact is that we are in the position of holding Europe to ransom. Europe is struggling with all sorts of economic and financial problems. Its condition, in contrast to ours, is one of very great misery

and misfortune. Conscious of its own situation, and aware of the prosperity and well-being of the United States, Europe sees our attitude as ungenerous and even cruel. It ascribes to this attitude much of its trouble, and holds us responsible for its inability to get back to normal.

And there is, so far as I can see, nothing likely to interrupt the steady increase of anti-American sentiment for many years to come—that is, until the debts have been eliminated by repudiation or (remoter possibility) until, despite debts, Europe has come back to prosperity and no longer feels their burden. But no one can now see this latter happy time. As for the debts, if it were possible to establish the fact in America—what I believe to be the fact—that Europe has not the smallest intention of carrying out the payments scheduled for sixty-odd years, and not the smallest belief in the reality of these contracts, that it rejects in advance the moral responsibility, that it regards the debts as ransom, as tribute, as the fruit of the exercise of power unjustly and unfairly, then American opinion might be influenced.

The notion that the debts are to be likened to any commercial transaction does not exist on the other side of the Atlantic. Instead they represent, in the main, money we sent to take the place of soldiers we did not have. Europe feels that it paid in blood for us and that now it is being asked to pay in gold. It measures our present demands by comparison with our war-time utterances, official and otherwise.

To be an American in Europe now is no longer pleasant, although of course it is true that there remains a certain sense of kindness and gratitude for the individual American who shared the European agonies of the war and is felt to sympathize with present European feelings. This is not a situation limited to France or to any other European country. It is just as general in Britain as in France; it is becoming as general in Italy as in Belgium. And it is increasing all the time. One might say with perfect justice, I think, that most of the war-time hates have softened if they have not disappeared, but only to be replaced by the common resentment of America.

If I were to venture a forecast, in so far as the debts are concerned, it would be that, supposing the French presently ratify a debt settlement, this ratification will be followed at no distant date by the beginning

of a general process of reduction if not repudiation of all debt agreements. Millions of men and women in Europe will not deliberately accept a lower standard of living, a continued condition of hardship, merely to supply vast sums of money to pay debts which they believe to be unjust and without moral sanction.

We have a very real hold upon Europe now, because no country, not even Britain, could have stabilized its currency without the aid of American loans or credits, and these were unavailable save as debt settlements were signed. But once the loans and credits have served their purpose and Europe escapes from the lash of necessity, it is bound to see the settlements as made under duress and without moral warrant.

However, I have ventured far afield, and it merely remains to say of the French situation that it is worse this month than last, as it is likely to be still worse next month than this. Stabilization means wiping out five-sixths, perhaps seven-eighths of the par value of billions and billions of securities. It means, practically, beggaring permanently almost innumerable Frenchmen who have so far subsisted largely on the hope of the ultimate return of the franc to at least a considerable fraction of its former value. It means inflicting something like ruin on the middle and rentier classes, which are vastly larger in France than in Germany.

It also means the automatic arrival of a considerable period of hard times, high prices, and unemployment. A strong government might do it. Mussolini did much if not all of what was necessary, although to-day the lira is again falling with the franc. But the elected representatives of the people who must suffer, the political parties which live by the favor of voters whose misery would be insured, not unnaturally lack the courage to act. They are more afraid of the temporary wrath of the electors than of any thing which might result from the slow sinking of the franc and the gradual approach of bankruptcy.

There would be few major surgical operations, if the doctors were obliged in every case to wait upon a plebiscite of the friends and relatives of the patient. The French surgeons in this case are actually afraid to operate because the operation involves loss of blood, new wounds, and a considerable period of weakness. Thus in France you see representative democracy at dead low water, you see government unable to govern, you see paralysis where there should be action. And the French example is rather typical than unusual, in so far as Europe is concerned.

Across the Channel, in Britain, a nation whose economic problems are desperate and whose salvation can come, if at all, only through the combined and coördinated efforts of all classes and conditions, industry continues to be paralyzed by a deadlock between workman and owner in the coal industry; and the Government is unable to break this deadlock, which is progressively closing factories and checking production. The past month has seen a serious aggravation of the struggle, and the governmental remedial legislation has provoked new conflict rather than enlisted any new support.

All that one can say, to close this monthly comment, is that at the present moment the economic situation in Britain and the financial condition in France has for four more weeks defied all rational adjustment, and continues to threaten national paralysis and at least temporary chaos. In both countries governments have failed to contribute anything to national comfort, prosperity, or safety. The economic or financial destruction continues and expands, and another day of reckoning is made certain and also difficult.

Nor can one fail to perceive that in all this chaos dislike, distrust, even downright hatred of America grows and spreads and, in European minds, American responsibility for European troubles is becoming more and more firmly established.



LEADERSHIP IN THE HOUSE

BY WILLIAM HARD

ONE of the most ancient and one of the cheapest habits in this country is sneering at the Senate and the House of Representatives. I am fairly well acquainted with Congress. I am also fairly well acquainted with lots of people outside Congress. I do not want to hurt their feelings. But I will say to them frankly that in character and capacity, man for man, and on the whole, they have nothing on Congress at all.

With this defiant and unpopular remark, I proceed, according to the request of the Editor of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, to say a few words about the House of Representatives in its activities and in its personalities during this last congressional session, just ended.

Most of the sneerers at the House of Representatives could not give you the names of five members of it. They are totally unaware of the personal characteristics and attainments of its leaders. I propose humbly in this little article to name a few of the outstanding members of the Popular Branch of the National Legislature of the world's greatest country, and to say what they are like and what they do as leaders. After all, they largely determine this country's national future.

I must begin, though, by pointing out a certain general fact:

The House of Representatives, under Nicholas Longworth as Speaker, is steadily gaining in prestige in Washington at the expense of the Senate. It is steadily exercising more power in disputes over taxes and in disputes over appropriations. This is by no means due solely to Longworth. It distinctly is due to him, however, in part. And it is very lucky for him.

If Coolidge does not run again for the presidency, Longworth will have in almost every congressional district a good friend—

namely, the Representative from that district—who will be saying to himself:

"Under Longworth we Representatives have gone up in the world in comparison with our hereditary foe, the Senate. Nick is a good fellow. Additionally—to the surprise of some of us—he has turned out to be an effective Speaker, under whom the

House has become much more important and much more influential. We are obliged to him. So, if not Cal, why not Nick?"

That is a general fact of the very first political importance. The House is going up, and it is carrying Nicholas Longworth up with it.

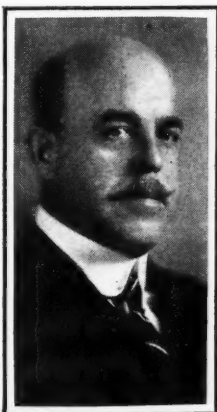
But there is also, when one comes to think of it, another important general fact about the present House of Representatives. Its average of character and capacity is demonstrably higher than the corresponding average in the same body a generation ago. The fault to be found with it is that it is in some ways rather dull. It contains fewer flamingly spectacular

characters than it used to. It is often less thrilling. Yet let us do it justice. Its industry, its conscientiousness, its disinterestedness, its freedom from corrupt personal motives, are greater than they used to be when Blaine was blazing down its aisles.

It also is freer than it then used to be from what is called "gag rule." Some newspapers have talked much about "the machine" under Longworth. There is a great deal of illusion, it seems to me, in that sort of talk.

In the first place, the rules of the House have to be adopted by a majority of the House. Longworth cannot make the House take any rule that it does not want to take.

In the second place, any member can bring in a bill and have it referred to a committee; and if the committee does not



© Harris & Ewing

SPEAKER LONGWORTH
OF OHIO

report it back to the House, then a majority of the House, by petition, can compel the committee to disgorge the bill and to bring it to the floor. Therefore a majority can always prevent any piece of proposed legislation from getting "gagged."

The truth is that, in so far as "gag rule" exists, it prevents the minority from consuming the time of the House and does not prevent the majority from doing anything really important that it genuinely wants to do.

Not having unlimited confidence in majorities, I would rather be in the Senate, where a minority has more chance to orate and to obstruct; but is there not room, and appropriate and useful room, in our national legislative life for both systems?

In any case, the present rules of the House of Representatives are the most "liberal" that it has ever had in our times, except in the session before this last one. In that previous session 150 members could drag a bill out of a committee. Now it takes a majority—namely, 218.

With these preliminaries disposed of, I turn to the personalities of the Lower House of Congress.

Tilson, John Quillin: Floor Leader of the Republican majority. A Representative from Connecticut. Might seem a Yankee. But no! Born in Tennessee. Went to Connecticut to go to Yale. Worked his way through Yale. Waited on table. Acquired habits of drudgery, and has toiled at drudgery ever since. An excellent parliamentarian. This in itself the toil of a lifetime.

To be a good parliamentarian in the American House of Representatives it is necessary not only to memorize the rules but to study the ten thick volumes of "Hinds' Precedents." Then one must be able to apply these precedents instantly at any point in the complicated and be-

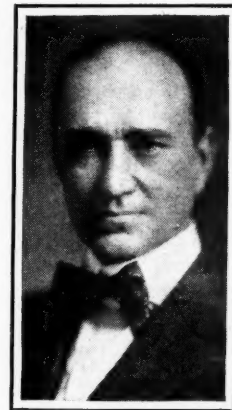
wildering circumstances of a debate. So nobody is fitted to be either a Majority Leader or a Minority Leader in the American House of Representatives unless he is extremely cool-headed and unless he has been also amazingly industrious.

Tilson is, and has been, both. He also has a considerable power of unspectacular organization. He is, therefore, extremely well qualified to put through a majority program. Finally, like most men in both the Lower House and the Upper House of the American Congress, he was born poor and is now none too rich, and is nevertheless distinctly a conservative.

Garrett, Finis James: Floor Leader of the Democratic minority. A Representative from Tennessee. Tennessee gave this last House of Representatives both its Majority Leader, by birth, and its Minority Leader, by birth and residence. A further interesting fact! There is no doubt that the Tennessee Democratic delegation in the House

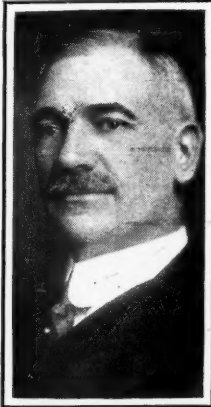
and the Texas Democratic delegation in the House are in lump rather superior in the technique of parliamentary life to any Republican delegation from any State in the North or West. As a Republican, I freely make that painful avowal.

Garrett, like Tilson, is a famous and magnificent parliamentarian. He is also perhaps the best off-hand user of good English on Capitol



© Harris & Ewing
HON. FINIS J. GARRETT
OF TENNESSEE
(Minority Leader)

Hill. He excels at short impromptu speeches. He is a characteristic Minority Leader, just as Tilson is a characteristic Majority Leader. Tilson is perhaps better at organization. Garrett is perhaps better at rejoinder. Tilson can arrange. Garrett can rebut. He has a dash that Tilson, relatively, has not. Yet on one most vital point in political belief these two Tennesseans absolutely resemble each other: Each is totally conservative local self-government Jeffersonian.

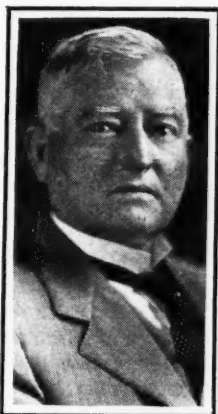


© Harris & Ewing
HON. JOHN Q. TILSON
OF CONNECTICUT
(Majority Leader of the House of Representatives)

The present House of Representatives is led on the one side by a conservative southern Jeffersonian Republican, domiciled in Connecticut, and on the other side by a conservative Jeffersonian Democrat, resident in the South. The "Old South" still has us Yankees not entirely emancipated from its clever and able rule. And it is further to be noted that while the New England delegations in the House contain many able and interesting men, there is not one of them, except the Tennessean New Englander Tilson, who is in what might be called "supreme leadership." This would have pained those antique New England members of the House, Mr. John Quincy Adams, Mr. Edward Everett, Mr. Daniel Webster.

Green, William Raymond: A Representative from Iowa. Republican Chairman of the great Ways and Means Committee. Not such a professional parliamentarian as the men heretofore mentioned. But a tremendous worker. And full of sound sense. Was of great use in the tax fight in getting his fellow-Westerners to consent to a lowering of the inheritance tax. Fights hard for a lot of western ideas but is willing to surrender an apple or two rather than upset the whole apple-cart. Verdict of Easterners upon him: "Apparently or ultimately sane, even if from Iowa."

Garner, John Nance: Opposite number to Mr. Green of Iowa. Ranking Democratic member of the Ways and Means Committee, which is undoubtedly the most formidable and impressive and important committee on the Hill except the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. Mr. Garner is a Representative from Texas. Note that both the Republican Chairman and the Democratic ranking member of the Ways and Means Committee, which deals with taxes and which initiates all tax legis-



© Underwood

HON. JOHN N. GARNER OF TEXAS



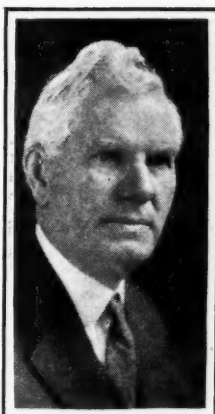
© Underwood

HON. WILLIAM R. GREEN OF IOWA

(The two ranking members of the important Ways and Means Committee of the House)

Majority Leader Tilson or Minority Leader Garrett. In fact, those leaders are far from being famous mixers. Think that over, trust magnates, who imagine politics to be all conviviality and jocularly. Top politics is usually extremely hard work. Garner, however, though a mixer, is also a hard worker, especially in finding out where the country is going. Six years ago he said that the issues of 1928—two years from now—would be liquor and religion. How's that for foresight?

Madden, Martin B.: The greatest practitioner, even if not the greatest bally-hoer, of governmental economy in Washington.



© Underwood

HON. MARTIN B. MADDEN OF ILLINOIS

lation, come from West of the Mississippi, where men are men and where voters (according to Wall Street) are Bolsheviks; and yet both these gentlemen came in the end to within at least hailing distance of the taxation ideas of Mr. Mellon of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Mr. Coolidge of Plymouth, Vermont.

Mr. Garner of Texas is very much more of a mixer among his fellow-men than either

Republican Chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the House. Elderly, venerable, indefatigable. Has been in Congress continuously since 1905. A Representative from Illinois; another Westerner. Will spend weeks counting up the number of employees he thinks a department needs, and will then stick out resolutely against giving it six more.

Popular opinion

regarding House of Representatives is that Bureau of Budget economizes and that House of Representatives is extravagant. Actual situation deeply different. House of Representatives, under Madden as Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, invariably appropriates less money than Bureau of Budget recommends. Wreath for Madden: "The Super-Coolidgean."

Byrns, Joseph W.: Another Tennessean. Ranking Democratic member of Mr. Madden's Appropriations Committee. Spends his time issuing statements showing that Coolidge and Madden between them, however earnest for economy, have not reduced our federal governmental expenditures in recent days except through great good luck, such as the dying off of Civil War veterans who, while alive, received pensions. These manifestoes by Byrns have really considerable pith. Though not entirely non-partisan, they are at least illuminating. A valuable dealer in statistics, Mr. Byrns.

Snell, Bertrand H.: A Republican Representative from the Empire State of New York. Chairman of the Rules Committee. This Committee brings in resolutions to the effect that the bill for changing the orbit of the planet Jupiter shall be debated for thirteen and a quarter minutes, one-half of which time shall be parceled out to would-be debaters by Mr. Parsimony and the other half to be apportioned by Mr. Thrift. A



© Harris & Ewing

HON. JOSEPH W.
BYRNS OF
TENNESSEEHON. BERTRAND H.
SNELL OF NEW YORK

majority of the House can repudiate and reject and spurn any such resolution; but it usually does not. It usually wants to get the planet Jupiter settled quick.

Mr. Snell, to prepare himself for a job of such administrative precision and promptness, is a highly successful and prosperous organizer and owner of a power plant and a cheese plant, in addition to being a director of a trust company back home. He is not distinguished for any sympathy with the La Follette movement. However, though a business man, he happens miraculously to be a good and agreeable and competent politician. Most business men as politicians are miserable fiascoes. Snell is an exception. He has the rigidity of business and the flexibility of politics.

Pou, Edward William: Of North Carolina. A Democrat. Ranking Democratic

member of Mr. Snell's Rules Committee. His district does not like him. The voters in it, in order to get rid of him again, have just renominated him for his fourteenth term in Congress at Washington. That is the sort of man he is. People have confidence in him. They go to him and seek his counsel. They trust his judgment. He is not as brilliant as the rainbow. He is more inclined toward imitating Gibraltar.



© Harris & Ewing

HON. EDWARD W. POU
OF NORTH CAROLINA

I have thus far mentioned the Republican Majority Floor Leader, the Democratic Minority Floor Leader, and the Republican and Democratic chairmen and "ranking members," of the three stellar committees of the House. I now approach the task of mentioning (within the limits of a magazine article) the outstanding personalities among the remaining four hundred and twenty-seven Representatives. It cannot be done. I shall therefore speak only of Burton and of Hull, who might have been chairmen, and of a few further actual

chairmen, and of Longworth, who had the good luck never to be a chairman at all.

Burton, Theodore E.: The House listens to him, on any subject, in a hush and with reverence. He is quite beyond politics. He gets elected and re-elected by his constituents in Ohio, on his character and impressiveness. He has served in eleven Congresses; but he has served in them discontinuously. Once, for instance, he went away and for six years was a member of the Senate. When you do things of that sort, you go down to the foot of your committee in the House. So Burton is not a chairman. However, he is a member of the commission for "funding," the debts owed to our Treasury by Europe, after having also been a member of our National Monetary Commission and our National Waterways Commission. He is thought to lend intellect and dignity to almost any commission. He busies himself also—and perhaps most particularly—with the Inter-parliamentary Union and with other projects for bringing about good-will and peace in the world. He is eminently a scholar. He is now seventy-five years old. Perhaps no man in the House can so quickly summon the attention of that body on the ground (though he never says it or thinks it) that "I am I." He is a tribute to the respect which the House has for true ability and true goodness.

Hull, Cordell: One more Tennessean! Sorry! But it can not be helped. Hull might now be chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, except that he missed out one Congress in the course of his service of nine Congresses. He is an infinite (and an infinitely able) specialist on the

tariff. He is deeply solemn but profoundly amiable. With all his amiableness, he remains convinced, however, that sinister powers of horrible iniquity have dictated the Republican tariff policy of this country.

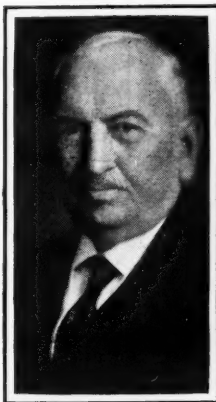
He seems to hate no individual Republican. He simply, morally, and impersonally hates the whole Republican party and the tariff. He has dug out information about the tariff till his shoulders stoop under it and his conscience writhes and rises under it. A gentle-spirited, relentless, and remorseless Christian crusader. Perfectly invaluable to his fellow-Democrats on the tariff issue.

I must now speak of the woes of chairmen of House committees.

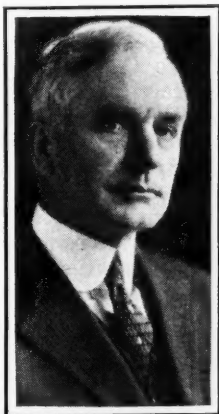
Porter of Pennsylvania, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, must grub away at the admirable proposal of Representative Tinkham of Massachusetts for a Third Hague Conference to develop and codify international law. He must also grub away at freeing the world from the misuse of opium. He went to the Opium Conference of the League of Nations at Geneva, Switzerland, and by withdrawing from it started a torrent of publicity which now has swayed the British Government toward a policy of ultimately extinguishing all exportations of opium from India. A great accomplishment, but in a specialized line.

Haugen of Iowa, chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, must give his time and his name to the tribulations and legislative projects of the Corn Belt.

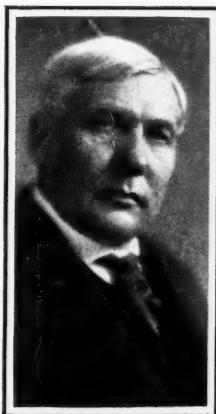
Sinnott of Oregon, in the sphere of his chairmanship, must learn every detail of everything about Public Lands. Johnson of South Dakota, as chairman of the



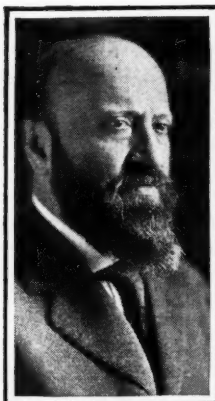
© Harris & Ewing
HON. THEO. E. BURTON
OF OHIO



© Underwood
HON. CORDELL HULL
OF TENNESSEE



© Harris & Ewing
HON. GILBERT N.
HAUGEN OF IOWA



© Harris & Ewing

HON. GEORGE H.
TINKHAM OF
MASSACHUSETTSHON. STEPHEN G.
PORTER OF
PENNSYLVANIA

committee dealing with our veterans of the late war, must know pretty nearly everything about how pretty nearly every veteran is being treated. Johnson of Washington, in the field which his chairmanship imposes upon him, must learn all the intricate technicalities of immigration restriction. Lehlbach of New Jersey, as chairman of the Committee on the Civil Service, must learn all the appalling intricacies of the forming and managing of retirement funds for the civil servants of the United States Government. And so on, through all the numerous committees.

I venture to hold the view that in the House of Representatives, as in the Senate, the chairmen of committees and the "ranking members" of committees, and the ordinary committeemen who aspire to be "ranking members" and chairmen, do an amount of work on their specialties which is fully equivalent in laboriousness to the amount of work which business men do in learning their businesses.

So, then, and to illustrate the rewards of character and the tricks of fortune:

Longworth, Nicholas: A Republican Representative from Ohio. In 1912 refused to follow his father-in-law, Theodore Roosevelt, into the Progressive Movement. Firmly independent of family influence. Because of this personal virtue got defeated for the House in 1912. Accordingly lost his standing in his committees. Never was able to get back to the head of any committee. Luck, indeed, as virtue's accompaniment! Has been able to give his whole time, ever since his return to the House, not to any speciality whatsoever but to a general knowledge of the problems and decisions of the House. Is no technical specialist in anything. Has an amazing compensating acquaintance with the broad drifts of thought in the House and with the personalities of its members. Instead of being a specialist, is a generalist and a general. Unworn by any deep delvings into any such thing as the right of the Chippewa Indians to a rebate of twenty-eight dollars and thirty-three cents apiece from their federal tribal fund, he freshly and happily and humorously and sagely combines the various mental ideas and the various personal forces of the House into whatever program of legislation is humanly feasible. The great humanist conductor of a House in which numerous specialists give inhuman drudgery to the mastering and playing of their specialized instruments!

Also the great Washingtonian defender of the prerogatives of the House and of its arduous labors. Longworth loves the House as much as the House loves him. It is this combination of a Speaker adoring his House and of a House adoring its Speaker that makes the House to-day the united and industrious happy-family exhibit in the national menagerie.



THE GROWING COST OF GOVERNMENT

BY JOHN Q. TILSON

(Majority Leader, House of Representatives)

WHEN bills are reported by committees of the House and placed on the calendar I have an analysis made, so that I may readily get the purport of the proposed legislation and its cost. Studying these varied legislative proposals—many of which have for their purpose the establishment of new departments, bureaus, commissions, the creation of new offices and classes of pensioners, and the increase of benefits already accruing to those now in the employment of the Government or receiving aid through governmental agencies—I am brought face to face with the inevitable conclusion that if the present tendency is not halted it is only a matter of time when everybody will be receiving a monthly check from a paternal federal, State, or municipal Government. In short, the question that irresistibly forces itself upon every thoughtful person, is: How long till we are all on the public pay-roll?

If statistics obtained from trustworthy sources can be relied upon, approximately every ten persons engaged or employed in private enterprise in the United States are supporting, on the average, one person depending for his or her living upon public funds. And it would seem sometimes to be the infallible earmark of a genuine up-to-date progressive statesman to be found fighting to get the other ten persons into comfortable berths, or otherwise on the pay-roll, at the expense of the public treasury.

The direct cost of the service rendered by public employees and officials for the year 1925 is estimated at \$4,300,000,000. Adding to this the cost of pensions, annuities, and allowances paid to war veterans and superannuated employees (numbering approximately 900,000 persons) and the cost of supporting about 500,000 public charges in almshouses and in charitable, correctional, and penal institutions, it is estimated that the total cost of those depending for

their livelihood directly on public funds during the year 1925 was about \$5,140,000,000, or a little more than one-half of the total expenditure for government. This sum represents about 8.1 per cent. of the total national income of 1925, 46.8 per cent. of the amount paid out in wages, or 37 per cent. of the amount paid out in wages and salaries combined by all the manufacturing establishments in the country during the year 1923, the latest for which such data are available.

The total public pay-roll, including the support of public charges—if the burden were distributed equally among persons gainfully occupied but not holding public jobs—would cost each person in private employment, or engaged in business or in a profession, about \$125 annually. The corresponding burden on each man, woman, or child in the United States would amount to \$46 per annum.

Sixty Per Cent. More Government Employees Than Twelve Years Ago

The total number of public servants in 1913 amounted to 1,785,000. The number of persons in the federal executive civil service (classified and unclassified positions, but exclusive of legislative, judicial, army, navy, marine, coast guard, and District of Columbia personnel) was 564,718 on June 30, 1925, as compared with 554,986 on June 30, 1924, 548,531 on June 30, 1923, and 917,760 at the time of the armistice. The number now on the public pay-roll approximates 2,800,000, or about 60 per cent. in excess of the estimate for 1913.

It will be noted that the number of persons in public service, including federal, State and local employees decreased after the peak of the wartime period until 1923, but has since begun a gradual increase, so that the trend is again unmistakably upward. The inexorable logic of the present

tendency is the complete absorption of the population into the class of those depending upon the public revenues for support. Of course, the logic of statistics must break down before the final logical result is reached, because there must be at least one taxpayer left to support the remainder of the population. If we should ever reach this logical conclusion where only one is left to bear the burdens of all the rest of us, it would be with some degree of equanimity that I could see the distinction of being the last taxpayer bestowed upon one of our good friends who are so insistent in devising means to expand the business of government, and to increase its expense.

Always New Boards and Commissions!

Every session of Congress brings with it a deluge of remedies for curing public and private ills, and not one out of a hundred fails to involve the creation of new positions or the expenditure of public money. Few Congresses pass out of existence without leaving behind several new boards and commissions to help the public attend to its business. State, county, and municipal bodies indulge in the same costly pastime. One of our magazine writers recently referred to this present tendency as progress on the "merry road to bankruptcy." The States, cities, and counties have made no halt in the direction of doing their full share toward enlarging the public pay-roll, and there are often indications here that we are not unwilling to keep Uncle Sam going in the same direction.

Simply as an illustration, take the subject of aviation. An unfortunate accident occurs. An army officer jumps into the limelight with sweeping charges. Investigations are held and remedies are recommended to improve aviation and allay popular clamor, which is the usual normal result of a serious accident. Stripped of all inconsequential matter, the several remedies proposed may be summed up in the appointment of an additional Assistant Secretary to each of three Cabinet officers, and the creation of a few more officers of advanced rank.

In all the railroad legislation proposed, new boards and commissions play a large part. In bills for the relief of agriculture, and their number is legion, high-priced boards and commissions are the outstanding features, and these are but illustrations taken from a much larger number.

Under such circumstances it is well to look about us and examine as to the cause of the present tendency in the business of government, which has already reached the point of being next to the largest single industry in the United States, agriculture only exceeding it in numbers.

Government, Our Fastest Growing Industry

I make the statement without the fear of successful contradiction that government is easily the fastest growing industry in the United States. Unfortunately there seem to be no statistics available by means of which we may compare the number of government workers now with the number engaged in government work in the early days of our history, but we do have figures by which we may compare government costs. Using 1922 cost figures, the last available, as the modern basis, we do not need to go farther back than 1890 to prove that government cost has been outstripping population in growth by more than 5 to 1.

Conceding that the purchasing power of a dollar in 1890 was about twice that in 1922—though I believe it was only 1.84 times the 1922 dollar, on the basis of the Bureau of Labor Statistics method of determination—it is apparent that government cost has increased two and one-half times as fast as population. The allowance made for a difference in the buying power of the dollar takes care of the salary increases made in the period 1890 to 1922, so that the remainder of this great increase in cost is largely due to extension into hitherto unexplored fields of government.

The figures on which are based the conclusions here drawn are partly census reports, and partly statistics gathered by outside but authoritative investigators. These reports show that between 1890 and 1922, while the population was less than doubled, the cost of government—national, State, and municipal—was multiplied by ten, increasing in total from approximately \$900,000,000 to approximately \$9,500,000,000.

That the federal government's share in this increase was largely due to the war may be admitted. It cannot be claimed, however, that the increase in the total State and municipal expenditures was to the same extent due to the war, and yet the increase in the federal Government's expense was in practically the same ratio as the expenses of all governments, federal, State, and municipal, namely, 10 to 1.

In 1922 the federal Government was meeting obligations on a huge war debt, and paying current expenses with substantially no greater percentage of increase in expenditures than is shown by the States and municipalities of the country which had not borne the same direct share of the war expenses. The figures show that here in Washington the process of deflation in the expense of conducting the Government has gone on with some degree of success, at least relatively, while on the other hand they show that in State, county, and municipal Governments the tendency has been steadily in the other direction.

"Too Many Laws"

The reason for the great increase in the cost of government has been the effort of the last few years to remedy all public and private ills by law. We all know that under comparatively new laws there are federal, State, and municipal agents scurrying about the town and country, telling the farmers how to farm, business men how to make money, the women how to make cottage cheese and have babies, and on hundreds of ways but far afield from our forefathers' ideas of appropriate governmental activities.

Some years ago a publication known as "The Budget" was issued by the National Budget Commission, in which the statement was made that there are 100,000 legislators in the United States—national, State, and municipal—who enact each year more laws than were enacted annually before the war in Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, added together. The same publication contained the information that there are 2,000,000 laws and ordinances at present in force in the United States. The old farmer who had been elected to the State legislature was more than half right when immediately after the opening prayer he moved that the House do now adjourn. Asked to explain his reason he said: "Becuz we have too dern many laws already."

Limited Powers of the Federal Government

The founders of this nation limited by the Constitution the powers of the federal Government to certain general subjects which it was believed gave sufficient power to provide for the national defense and for the general welfare of the nation. The subjects upon which Congress is authorized to legislate under the Constitution are

stated in Section 8, Article I, and in general are the power to:

- Lay taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States;
- Borrow money;
- Regulate commerce with foreign nations;
- Establish a uniform rule of naturalization and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcy;
- Coin money, and regulate the standard thereof, and of foreign coin and fix the standard of weights and measures;
- Provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and coin of the United States;
- Establish post-offices and post roads;
- Legislate on the subject of patents and copyrights;
- Constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;
- Define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas;
- Declare war;
- Raise and support armies;
- Provide and maintain a navy;
- Make rules to govern and regulate the land and naval forces;
- Provide for calling forth the militia, for organizing, arming and disciplining the same and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States;
- Have exclusive control over a limited federal district;
- Make laws for carrying into execution the powers granted by the Constitution.

The limitations upon the powers of the federal Government should be kept in mind by the public and by members of Congress as well. The framers of the Constitution were impelled to make these limitations by reason of the fact that there was, even then, great diversity of opinion as to matters of most vital concern among the people of the several States. These differences of opinion among the people of many more States are more marked than they were in the colonial days, so that there are even stronger reasons now why the federal Government should neither directly nor indirectly interfere with local self-government.

The President Urges State Responsibility

The federal Government was established by the forefathers with limited powers stated in the Constitution, but the hope of most reformers seems to be to persuade the federal Government to ram its more or less half-baked proposals down the throats of the unwilling States; and if this cannot be done directly, it is proposed to do it by means of federal aid. Federal aid carried to its final legitimate conclusion is a way devised to get control of State activities by means which amount to bribery. No one has spoken more clearly on this subject than President Coolidge in this statement:

In our country the people are sovereign and independent, and must accept the resulting responsibilities. . . . The functions which the Congress are to discharge are not those of local government, but of national government. The greatest solicitude should be exercised to prevent any encroachment upon the rights of the States or their various political subdivisions. Local self-government is one of our most precious possessions. It is the greatest contributing factor to the stability, strength, liberty, and progress of the nation. It ought not to be infringed by assault or undermined by purchase. It ought not to abdicate its power through weakness or resign its authority through favor. It does not at all follow that because abuses exist it is the concern of the federal Government to attempt their reform. Society is in much more danger from encumb ring the national Government beyond its wisdom to comprehend, or its ability to administer, than from leaving the local communities to bear their own burdens and remedy their own evils.

Of course, federal aid carries with it the power to supervise and control, and it does not require the vision of a prophet to foresee the time when even Hamilton's idea of a dominating federal Government will have been realized and the States cease to exist as in any practical sense sovereign.

Comparative Statistics

Three tables are here submitted for reference. The first shows the growth of the cost of federal Government alone from 1792 to 1926. The second is made up from the eleventh census and shows the cost of government in the United States—federal, State, county and municipal—for the year 1890. The third shows the cost of all government in the United States for either the year 1922, or a later year.

GROWTH OF FEDERAL EXPENSES

The following table shows the cost of operating the federal Government, during years selected (ending June 30), to show gradual growth of cost in peace times and rapid increases caused by war:

1792.....	\$9,141,569.67
1810.....	13,319,986.74
1840.....	26,643,656.12
1860.....	77,462,102.72
1865 (Civil War peak).....	1,897,674,224.09
1880.....	397,148,016.00
1890.....	400,095,319.00
1899 (Spanish War peak).....	746,601,266.00
1900.....	635,614,393.00
1910.....	911,025,594.00
1919 (World War peak).....	15,298,353,013.86
1920.....	5,538,209,189.50
1926.....	3,584,987,873.50

COST OF GOVERNMENT IN 1890

The total expenditures of the national, State, territorial, county, and municipal governments on all accounts in 1890 were distributed as follows:

National government, including postal service.....	\$352,218,614
States, territories, and District of Columbia, except for public common schools.....	77,105,911
Counties, except for public common schools, partly estimated.....	114,575,401
Municipalities, except for public common schools, partly estimated, less commercial enterprises, net.....	232,988,592
Public common schools.....	139,065,537
	<hr/>
	\$915,954,055

COST OF GOVERNMENT IN 1922

Official figures for the cost of all types of government in the United States for 1922 (or later) are not available; consequently the following summary includes a few estimates:

Federal Government.....	\$3,618,038,000
State Government.....	1,280,320,000
County Government.....	745,000,000
Municipal Government (261 cities of 30,000 population or over)...	2,222,567,000
Smaller incorporated communities.	750,000,000
Specified civil divisions.....	980,825,000
	<hr/>
Total.....	9,596,750,000

Menace of Rising Public Expenditures

I have taken this opportunity to call attention to rapidly growing public payrolls and increasing Government expenditures because I regard it as one of the most serious menaces now threatening the stability and perpetuity of popular government. We must remember that free self-government by universal suffrage is a comparatively new thing in the world and that it cannot be said to have passed beyond the experimental stage. If government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall perish from the earth it will not be because a tyrant has arisen to take away liberty. It will fail, if at all, from inward causes and fall of its own weight.

I do not despair of the situation in our country. We are a strong, courageous people ready to meet danger when it becomes apparent, and the menace of the tendency to which I am calling attention will eventually be faced, and a remedy applied; but it would be infinitely better in every way to face it now before the price to be paid for the remedy becomes too great. Congress alone cannot solve the problem. The driving force of organized minorities is altogether too strong. The people must be aroused, and I fear that this can be done only by the pressure of undue tax burdens forcing a realization of the cause of oppressive taxes.

HAVE THE FORECASTERS AVERTED A DEPRESSION?

BY DAVID FRIDAY

THE experience of 1921 was a warning to American industry which will not soon be forgotten; for in that year the combined profits of business were not large enough to pay interest and taxes. There were individual corporations which made a moderate profit, but for the combined industries of the country—railroads, public utilities, manufactures, mining, banking, all corporate business in fact—the net result of the depression year was a deficit. In 1919 they had shown a surplus after interest and taxes of over \$6,000,000,000.

Prophets Without Honor in 1920

It is small wonder, then, that the profession of business forecasting has experienced a great development during these last five years. This is the more true because some economists foretold the coming recession months before it appeared. Any one who foresaw the decline of business in the early months of 1920 had abundant time to put his house in order and avoid most, if not all, of the loss. If the community generally had heeded the warnings issued in the spring of that year, the extent of the calamity would have been much reduced. But those who prophesied the end of the boom were anything but popular. People believed that things had changed fundamentally as a result of war and post-war development. When peace failed to bring an immediate recession of prices and business activity, there was general belief that nothing could stop the course of prosperity.

Four Years of Prosperity

In the spring of 1922 business began to revive. By the end of that year prosperity was upon us. Corporate profits were not as high as in 1919; but they were almost as high as they had been in 1920, despite the lower price level which prevailed. Ever since that revival we have been asking

ourselves, "How long will prosperity last?" The higher the tide of prosperity rose, the more insistent was the question. In the spring of 1925 many forecasters thought they saw clear signs of recession, especially in the stock market. In the earlier months of 1926 there was all but universal agreement that the end of this boom period was at hand; and that we faced a decline of production and employment, a lower level of profits, and a downward tendency in the stock market which would last for a number of months.

Cycles in Business

The well-nigh unanimous opinion of the predictors was based upon the fact that production had been running steadily above normal since the autumn of 1924; that the profits for the year 1925 approached the highest level of war profits; and that the stock market had shown a rise of seventy points for industrial stocks and of thirty points for railroads since the summer of 1924. The theory of the business cycle holds to the fundamental proposition that such a period of prosperity in employment and profits, accompanied by a rapid rise in the stock market, always breeds conditions which in turn lead to a crisis and a collapse. Those whose duty it was to observe the approaching signs of depression thought that they saw clear indications that the conditions which produce a crisis had been bred by the boom which began with reviving wheat prices in June, 1924.

Their suspicions were reinforced by a general recession in the stock market in February, 1926, and by a bad break which began early in March and lasted throughout that month. With the reassurance of this evidence there came a general rush of pessimistic predictions. The forecasters were in full cry on the trail of a bear market. No man was willing to discredit the profession by remaining a skeptic.

Predictions of Depression

Seldom has there been such unanimity of opinion that production would decline, that profits for the year would be poor, and that a fall in securities was imminent and unavoidable. In the spring of 1925 there had likewise been prophets of doom. Many asserted outright that the Coolidge boom had collapsed. But there was, nevertheless, a conservative minority which stood out against the prevailing pessimism that marked the financial columns and the professional forecasts. It is interesting to note in passing that the serious break in the stock market began in exactly the same week in March this year as in 1925; and that the low point was reached, both last year and this, on March 30. It is surprising that this never gave pause to any of the forecasters. But the depression had been too long awaited and expected, and the risk of being wrong seemed slight in view of the strong belief in the rhythmic ebb and flow of business.

Not Supported by Current Facts

Yet after three months have elapsed, there is a steadily rising tide of suspicion that the predictions of recessions in business will miscarry again this year as they did in 1925. Production has not fallen, profits stubbornly refuse to show a decline, dividend payments are on the increase, and the stock market has continued to rise until the average price of railroad shares is higher than it was at the peak in January. The confident assertion of two months ago that the rise of stocks was nothing but an upward reaction in a bear market is not supported by the course of events. Money has remained easy; there is full industrial employment; railway traffic is increasing; and the outlook for good agricultural crops is encouraging.

Importance of Timely Warnings

If conditions in industry and the stock market continue their course of the last three months, the business forecasters are sure to have their conclusions and their methods subjected to searching criticism. Much of this criticism will be of the rough-and-ready sort which merely points out that these analysts predicted events which have failed to materialize. Many business men will conclude that since the prophecies of recession were wrong in 1925, and again

in 1926, they are useless and without purpose. If the stock market continues to rise and business continues good throughout 1926 and into next year, this lack of faith in business analysis will be one of the most dangerous elements in the situation. For the time will undoubtedly come in the future, as it has in the past, when prosperity will breed the conditions which will lead to a crisis. It is most desirable, both in the public welfare and in the interests of the private individual, that the forecasters should warn us of those conditions when they appear, and that the public should believe those warnings.

Economic science counts as its outstanding contribution during the last twenty-five years the determination of the method by which prosperity breeds a crisis. In his monumental work entitled "Business Cycles," Prof. Wesley C. Mitchell has set forth the conditions which arise in times of prosperity, and which operate to bring the very period which created them to a close. It is to the interest of the business public that these conditions should be charted, to the end that it may be forewarned of coming depression. For when they are present, unemployment and business losses are sure to overtake the uninformed. The reason why business has not declined as was expected is because our prosperity failed to develop some of the conditions which are needed to turn it into a crisis.

Have Costs of Production Risen?

What are these stresses which accumulate within the system of business and finance in good times and finally turn them into bad times? The fundamental weakness which develops in periods of boom is a rising cost of doing business. This leads to a decline in profits, because the prices of products fail after a time to rise as rapidly as the cost of production. The costs of production consist of material costs and of wages. These two elements, combined, make up by far the greatest portion of the total. But there is an additional element of ever growing importance. It consists of those overhead items, such as officers' salaries, depreciation, taxes, and interest on bonds, which do not vary with fluctuations in output. And finally, there is interest on borrowed money.

After a period of boom has been under way for a considerable time, the large demand for commodities leads to a rise in

prices of raw materials. Profits are good, so that overhead costs tend to increase; and the demand for labor is active, so that wages rise and the efficiency of labor declines. Abundant and easy profits will, at such times, lead to a let-down in the efficiency of management. The result of all of this is a rise in the cost of production. For a time the prices of products will rise enough to offset this, but ultimately the rising tide of expenses encroaches upon the margin of profits. This is a situation which inevitably brings depression. There are at least three other sets of conditions which must be present in order to bring on a serious crisis. But declining profits due to rising costs, and declining efficiency, are the mainspring.

Does this situation prevail now; and did it prevail at the beginning of 1926? All the evidence is to the effect that it does not prevail. Prices have not been rising. For non-agricultural commodities prices fell steadily from 166 last November to 160 in April. Never during the boom year of 1925 did they rise to the high point which prevailed early in 1923. At that time the non-agricultural commodities stood twenty points higher than in April of this year, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics index number of wholesale prices. This number is composed largely of basic commodities and raw materials. That element of costs which consists of raw materials has not risen during recent months. It has fallen. Nor have wages risen; the rate of wages has not been advanced nor has efficiency declined. On the contrary we hear everywhere of improvements in method which have led to a greater output per unit of labor. This means a lower labor cost. The efficiency of management has suffered no lapse; and the cost of bank loans has not risen.

Profits Maintained in Spite of Falling Prices

The effect of all this has been to maintain profits in the face of declining prices for products. That decline in selling prices was forced by the competition which was made possible through these very decreases in costs. Under such conditions profits can be maintained and may even rise. The present prosperity differentiates itself, therefore, from that of 1920 and 1923. In those years prosperity had brought a rise in prices; and in 1920, especially, it had brought rising prices of materials and an

enormous decrease in the efficiency of labor and of management. It is a surprising fact that during recent months most analysts have looked upon falling prices as a bearish sign. From any long-run point of view it is exactly the opposite, provided only that those prices are accompanied by falling costs. For if costs fall as rapidly as the prices of products, then the level of profits is maintained. So long as improvement in productive efficiency keeps costs low and competition active, it is hard to breed a depression.

Not only do falling costs protect profits, but at such times inventories will not accumulate. Such accumulation has two results which make for depression. Inventories are usually bought ahead of the actual need for them; and they are bought with borrowed money. This will normally bring an increase in the demand for credit sufficiently large to result in credit stringency and high rates for bank loans. It also creates a situation where, at the first slackening of trade or at any shaking of confidence, there will be a cessation of buying by retailers from wholesalers and manufacturers. The result is unemployment and a further curtailment in retail sales, for wages are the principal source of funds for retail purchases.

Hand-to-Mouth Buying a Safeguard

When prices are falling there is neither forward buying nor borrowing for the carrying of swollen inventories. There is abundant complaint at such times from the manufacturer and wholesaler, who dislike exceedingly this habit of hand-to-mouth buying. Forward buying is to the liking of these gentlemen. But hand-to-mouth buying is the safeguard against depression. There is no evidence of swollen inventories at this time, and the complaint about the lack of forward buying is universal and vociferous. This is exactly as it should be, for it makes for steady business.

It does not take forward buying nor unfilled orders to make large production. In 1920 the unfilled orders for steel averaged 10,000,000 tons, and production averaged 3,500,000 tons per month. In 1925 unfilled orders were less than 5,000,000 tons on the average, while production was higher than in 1920. During March of 1926 the unfilled orders in hand were actually down to one month's production. Yet output reached the highest level ever attained.

No Stringency in Credit

There is no tension in the money market now, nor is there any threat of it. This has always been one of the surest indications of coming depression. In spite of the speculative real-estate activities and of speculation in the stock market, money conditions are fairly easy. The absence of threatening conditions in the money market can be best brought out by comparing the banking situation now with that which prevailed in the beginning of 1920. At that time the commercial banks had exhausted their additional lending power, except as they got funds from the Federal Reserve Banks. The aid which is thus extended to the banks is measured by the earning assets of the Federal Reserve system. This stood at more than \$3,000,000,000 at the beginning of 1920. By the end of June, 1920, they had risen to \$3,271,000,000. In contrast to that situation the earnings assets on June 30 of this year were \$1,158,000,000, and were only \$31,000,000 larger than a year ago.

No Decline in the Bond Market

Besides these three factors of rising costs, swollen inventories, and credit stringency, which presage depression, there is always stringency in the investment markets. This manifests itself in a decline in the prices of good bonds. The depression of six years ago was preceded by a decline in the average price of high-grade railroad and utility bonds, which began late in 1918, and continued at a rapid rate from June, 1919, to June, 1920. The recession in the stock market in the spring of 1923 was anticipated by a fall in the prices of bonds during the last three months of 1922 and the first part of the following year.

Such a decline in bond prices increases the cost of funds to those who wish to borrow for the extension of plant facilities. The result is a check in borrowing and a smaller volume of construction activity. The prosperity of last year has brought no such stringency of investment funds. Nor has there been any decline in new security issues. During the first five months of this year the new corporate securities issued, exclusive of refunding, totaled \$2,143,000,000, as against \$1,818,000,000 last year and \$1,457,000,000 in 1924. Bonds have been rising steadily for almost two years, in spite of this large volume of new securities.

The investment funds which result from the savings of the people of this country are adequate to maintain the volume of expansion for railroads, public utilities, manufactures, and building construction. If the stock market should enter a long-continued decline in the face of a continuous rise in the price of bonds such as we have witnessed, it would be a phenomenon practically unprecedented in financial history.

Have Warnings Helped to Ward Off Depression?

These are the principal conditions which must manifest themselves before prosperity has come to the breaking point. Practically all of these things are lacking at the present time. When they do appear the business world should be warned in ample time. It is the province of the forecaster to issue this warning. Doubtless the reader will have asked himself how the forecasters came to make their pessimistic predictions in the absence of these factors. It is altogether probable that many of these conditions would be with us to-day if it were not for the warnings issued during the last year.

The predictions of depression are based upon the assumption that people will act in a given period of prosperity as they have in preceding ones. It is well recognized that if the business community ever develops sufficient confidence in the forecasters to take seriously their predictions of recession, and if it changes its policies on account of such predictions, the result will be a departure from the customary and usual conduct which is induced by boom times. If the business public is moved so to change its conduct, that very fact will prevent the depression from occurring, or at least will lessen its severity and duration.

Successful prediction will neutralize itself if it commands wide-spread public confidence. Something of this sort has happened in recent months. After non-agricultural prices had declined from 180 in April, 1923, to 158 in the recession of midsummer, 1924, they began to rise once more. By February, 1925, they stood at 167 and seemed to be headed definitely upward. This is where the forecasters sent out their warnings and by May the prices had fallen 6 points to 161. People bought cautiously and there was no inflation of inventories or of bank credit. For in the stock market, too, there had been a decline. In view of the pessimistic predictions abroad at that

time the brokers required substantial increases in margins. This meant that stocks were bought more largely with savings and less with borrowed bank credit. So inflation and credit stringency were avoided. Business remained good and savings for the investment market were large.

By November, 1925, non-agricultural prices had risen again to 166. Then they began to fall once more. They declined to 160 in April, 1926, and remained there in

May and June. Labor and management are efficient, costs are low, and inventories are small.

In view of the possibility of recession people are saving and thus keeping the supply of investment funds large and bond prices firm. In so far as the forecasters have helped to create this attitude of caution they have scored an immense success, and have conferred a great benefit upon all classes of industrial society.

SAVING NIAGARA FROM SUICIDE

BY OTTO WILSON

LAST June Secretary Hoover made a brief announcement which observers of developments connected with Niagara Falls had long been expecting. This was to the effect that a joint engineering inquiry would be made by Canada and the United States to report on the best means of preventing the eventual "suicide" of the great cataract through the rapid erosion of its river bed.

Few of us realize how rapid that erosion has become. Of the two million visitors who see the Falls each year, a goodly percentage can probably recall hearing their parents tell of their own first visit to this same spectacle. Yet the Falls at which the tourist of to-day gazes are, at the point of greatest flow, 150 feet farther along than when his father and mother saw them thirty years ago. Many people still living have seen the Falls when this crest line was 250 or 300 feet more advanced than it is to-day. And since the wondering eyes of Father Hennepin stared at them, in 1678, they have receded more than 1,000 feet.

Moving Back Seven Feet a Year

The cause of this retreat is, of course, the undermining of the layer of hard rock which forms the bed of Niagara River and the ensuing breaking-off of large pieces. Along the American Falls this erosion is of small importance, only a few inches a year. But along the Canadian Falls it has been going on during the last two or three centuries at a rate varying from four to seven feet a year.

The chief reason for this difference is that

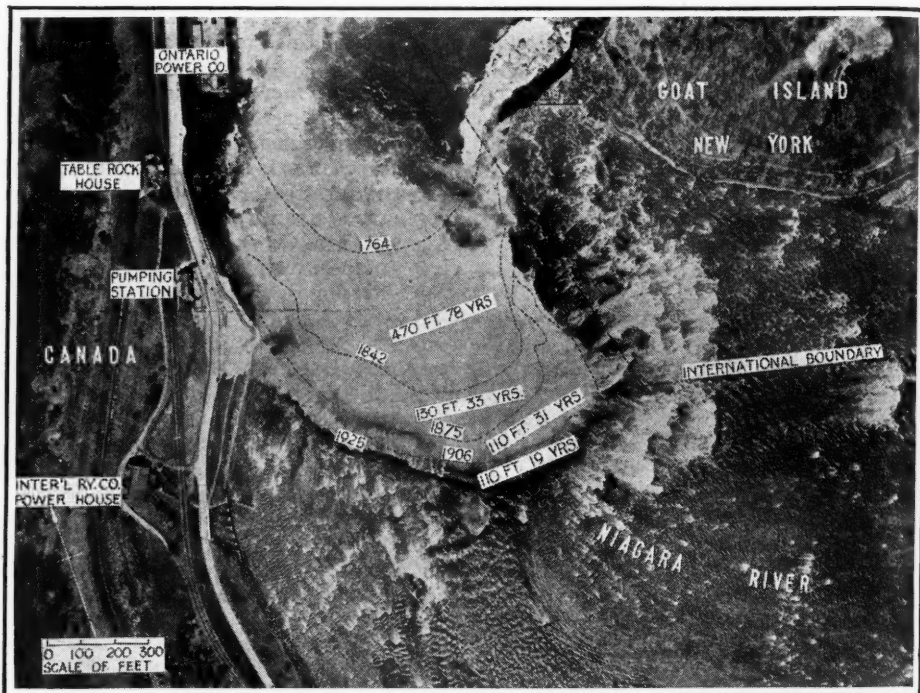
the American Falls are nine or ten feet higher than the Canadian, and although their crest line measures 1,060 feet as compared with some 2,600 feet for the Canadian, they take only 6 per cent. of the flow of Niagara River.

Not only do the Canadian Falls have to take care of the other 94 per cent., but this great coursing flood of water tends more and more to concentrate in the central sector. The original straight line of the crest has thus become first a curve and then a horseshoe, and is now in the process of changing from the shape of a letter U to that of a letter V.

At the apex of the present U-shaped crest, the water, pouring over the edge nine or ten feet deep, has in nineteen years worn away 110 feet of rock, a rate of nearly six feet a year. In recent years on the American side of this apex, as the airplane photographs clearly show, a break in the crest line has occurred, forming a notch in which erosion is proceeding at the rate of seven feet annually.

The Falls Would Eventually Disappear

While this present recession does not threaten the life of the Falls in the immediate future it does steadily lessen their attractiveness by diverting so great a proportion of the flow toward the center, leaving that over the wings increasingly more shallow. When the wind blows strongly upstream, unsightly rocks are uncovered at these ends, with anything but a pleasing effect.



HOW THE FAMOUS "HORSESHOE" FALLS AT NIAGARA HAVE BEEN ALTERED BY EROSION

(This airplane view, diagrammed by the Niagara Falls Power Company, shows the changes in contour of the Canadian Falls that have taken place since 1764—the latest measurement showing a recession of 110 feet since 1906. Unless erosion is checked, the falls may become merely rapids, farther up the river)

But even if the wearing process did not affect us in any way it would be shortsighted on our part not to preserve the Falls for coming generations. Unless some remedial action is taken, say the engineers, they will tend to become eventually a series of great boiling rapids, spectacular enough no doubt but far from being the majestic Niagara as we know it.

The Government, however, has not been inactive. In fact the work of the present inquiry has in a measure been anticipated. In 1917 Congress directed the army engineers to make a thoroughgoing survey of the whole question of the use of the water of the Great Lakes, particularly as affecting Niagara.

How to Check the Erosion

The report of Col. J. G. Warren and that of the Board of Army Engineers based upon it are full and authoritative, and constitute a sort of starting point for all technical discussions of Niagara problems. Among other things they outline a program of action for checking the erosion of Horse-

shoe Falls, enhancing the scenic beauty of the whole cataract and perhaps increasing the amount of water that may be diverted for power.

Colonel Warren's recommendations of works to effect these purposes are, chiefly:

(1) That a submerged dike be built up-river from the head of Goat Island, so that a larger proportion of the flow may be diverted over the American Falls.

(2) That a submerged dike be built to curve around the apex of Horseshoe Falls some distance above the brink, so that more of the water may be turned toward the two ends and away from the center.

(3) That by means of cofferdams the rock shall be cut away from the river bed at either end of Horseshoe Falls, so that the flow at these points will be deeper.

Plans favored by other engineers differ in detail from these recommendations, but in general they cover the work usually agreed upon as desirable. One plan, for example, would substitute small islands built well above Horseshoe Falls for the curved submerged dike. Undoubtedly the

© Ha

(At t
of th
possi
from

HERE

(Goat I
calls for



© Hamilton Maxwell, Inc.

AN UNUSUAL AIRPLANE VIEW OF BOTH THE FALLS AT NIAGARA

(At the left are the American Falls, over which flows only 4 per cent. of the water of Niagara River. In the center of the picture are the Canadian Falls, which take 96 per cent. of the flow. Above Goat Island, separating the two, it is possible to construct a dike to divert a larger quantity of water over the American Falls and thus save the main cataract from wearing itself away. This is one of several plans proposed by army engineers; another plan is explained in the caption to the illustration at the bottom of this page)



HERE AT THIS NOTCH IN THE HORSESHOE THE CREST OF THE FALLS HAS BEEN RECEDING AT THE RATE OF SEVEN FEET EACH YEAR

(Goat Island, at the left, separates the American Falls and the Canadian. One of the engineers' plans to stop the erosion calls for a dike to be built at the apex of these Horseshoe Falls, some distance from the brink, so that more water will be diverted toward the ends and away from the center)

report resulting from the recently authorized inquiry will recommend operations more or less similar to those mentioned.

Dangerous Work but Not Difficult

With the swift and treacherous current above the Falls the execution of these works would be decidedly dangerous, but not particularly difficult from an engineering standpoint, and not excessively expensive. Estimates of the cost range from \$1,000,000 to \$10,000,000, depending on the exact nature of the construction finally decided upon and the methods followed.

What danger is there that the men appointed to make the present inquiry may view the task entirely from an engineer's standpoint, ignoring the feature of most interest to the public, the overwhelming beauty of the great roaring cataract? Since the agitation of fifteen or twenty years ago the public mind has been sensitive on this point, and ready to take alarm whenever any further tinkering with the Falls is proposed.

Secretary Hoover's announcement is reassuring. In addition to the existing Joint Board of Control, consisting of one American and one Canadian engineer, the com-

mission to make the inquiry is to include one American and one Canadian civilian "who shall have special regard for the large public questions involved in such steps as may be taken to save the Falls." The American designated for this post is J. Horace McFarland, of Harrisburg, Pa., formerly president of the American Civic Association. . . . Mr. McFarland has long been a leader in the movement to protect Niagara, and his appointment has been made as public assurance that the scenic value of the Falls is the first consideration."

The present inquiry, furthermore, is limited to an examination of the engineering question involved and the making of recommendations. Any action taken will first have to be approved by Congress and by the Canadian authorities. On Canada's insistence the board is to give attention to the possibility of using more water for power purposes if the contemplated engineering works can accomplish it without loss to scenic values. But before that could be brought about the existing waterways treaty with Canada would have to be amended, as the present diversion of water for power is practically up to the limits set by the treaty.



THE FAMILIAR VIEW OF THE GREAT CATARACT AT NIAGARA

(These are the Canadian or Horseshoe Falls, with a total width, measured along the curve, of nearly 3000 feet and a drop of 158 feet. The American Falls are nearly straight across, with a width of 1060 feet and a drop of 167)

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

BY D. R. WILLIAMS

[Judge Williams was secretary of the Taft Commission which studied conditions in the Philippines a quarter-century ago, and since then has practised law in Manila and San Francisco, and served as a judge of the Philippine Court of Land Administration. The reader will understand that the author assumes sole responsibility for opinions expressed in the present article, though this periodical is in accord with his general views regarding administration and future policy.—THE EDITOR]

UNTIL quite recently the matter of the Philippines and their disposition has been left to theorists, politicians, and propagandists. Ignoring facts or consequences, and bolstering their fan-fare with time-worn formulae, they have largely succeeded in confusing the American public as to our Philippine rights and obligations.

Early mistakes in Philippine administration were inevitable. The venture was a new one, and our people and Congress knew little of the islands or their inhabitants. As a consequence, theories were indulged, policies adopted, and "party planks" and shibboleths evolved which had for background American experience and traditions, rather than those of a backward, poverty-stricken, and politically inexperienced medley of peoples on the coasts of Asia.

The anomaly is now presented, however, that notwithstanding the years between have yielded the facts, and clearly demonstrated many of these early beliefs and policies to be illusory and impractical, we still blindly and doggedly persist in their application.

The situation does us little credit. In business ventures we take stock annually and adjust our affairs accordingly. In matters of government, however—a "business" having to do not only with material rewards, but with the security, progress, and well-being of an entire people—we appraise results and institute reforms only when bankruptcy threatens or conditions become altogether desperate.

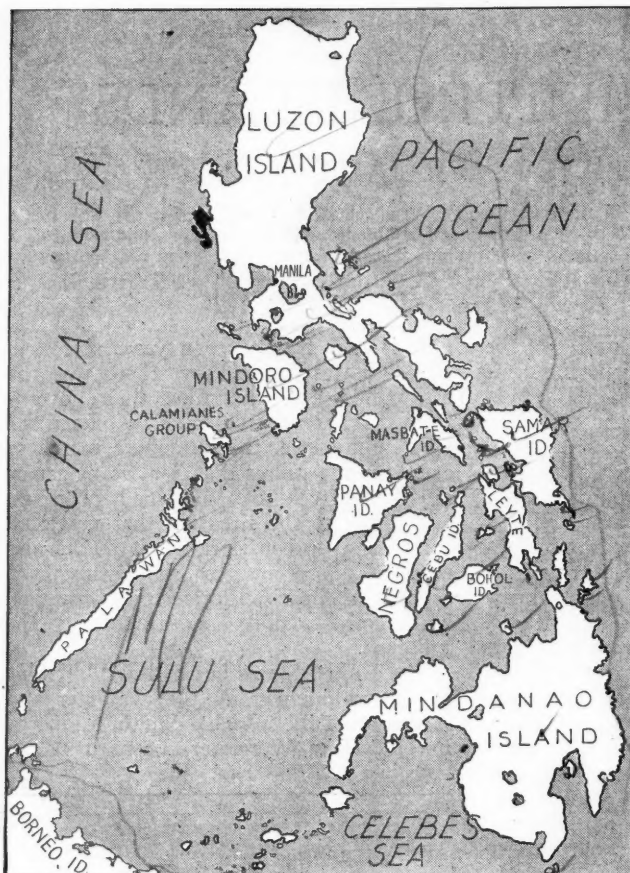
It is fashionable to rave about "self-determination," and pretend that it affords a talisman insuring prosperity and happiness to every race and people. In practice, however, a large percentage of our people never visit a polling-booth, and "representative government" becomes too often simply a clearing house for professional politicians and place hunters.

It is now twenty-seven years since the United States acquired sovereignty over the Philippines and undertook their government. Whatever alibi may be offered for past indifference, the inexorable march of events now requires that Americans generally "take stock" of Philippine happenings, and apply to the situation that practical, common-sense consideration it merits and requires. Anything less simply invites a sacrifice of American interests and prestige, with likely calamity and tragedy to the Filipinos.

The United States has had as Philippine administrators men of the character and caliber of Taft, Wright, Smith, Cameron Forbes, Dean Worcester, Leonard Wood,



THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS IN RELATION TO OTHER REGIONS OF THE FAR EAST



LUZON IN THE NORTH AND MINDANAO IN THE SOUTH COM-
PRISE NEARLY THREE-FOURTHS THE LAND AREA OF THE 7000
ISLANDS IN THE PHILIPPINE GROUP

and like outstanding Americans, who had and have no ends to serve other than the well-being of the Filipino peoples. In making a present inventory of Philippine conditions, therefore, and deciding upon future action, the part of sanity is to accept the findings and conclusions of these trusted representatives, rather than the ebullitions of imaginative individuals who form and emit "opinions" without knowing facts.

The present unsatisfactory economic and political situation in the Philippines is due to misdirected altruism. Our purpose has been praiseworthy, but through failure properly to appreciate local conditions in the islands we have played into the hands of a vociferous minority at the expense of the voiceless many.

Our original error was in assuming the

existence of a "Filipino people," capable in the mass of united action and with aptitude to assimilate readily the principles of a democratic government. We found instead a population divided into eighty-seven ethnographic groups—many of them hostile and most of them suspicious of the other—speaking more than sixty dialects. Something over a million people, occupying 40 per cent. of the land area of the archipelago, are pagans and Mohammedans, colloquially known as "wild tribes," while the great bulk of the remainder are inarticulate, knowing nothing whatsoever of democratic institutions or of the burdens and responsibilities of government. To-day, after a quarter-century of American occupation, and an intensive educational campaign, the total newspaper circulation of the islands is less than 150,000 for a population of 12,000,000.

Superimposed upon this polyglot and largely helpless and childlike body of Malay peoples, is a small, educated upper class—

mostly of Spanish and Chinese admixture—with which Americans have had contact. Their one absorbing interest in life is politics, while the holding of public office is the *sine qua non* of existence. This obsession is a heritage from Spain, whose "officials" enjoyed social prestige, access to public funds, opportunity to exploit the proletariat, and freedom from restrictions applicable to the common herd.

To this group American supervision and restraint are naturally irksome; so much so that Manuel Quezon, their high chief, is quoted as having expressed preference for "a government run like hell" provided they had the ordering of it. It is the clamor and pretensions of this self-seeking minority, however, with nothing "altruistic" in its make-up or aims, that excites the sympathy

and gains the support of many well-meaning Americans.

In 1916, a partisan United States Congress—giving effect to a stereotyped platform plank adopted in 1900—conferred upon this “top-side” political group in the islands full legislative authority, including the right to dictate official appointments. As a consequence, effective American administration of Philippine affairs became a thing of the past, and with it went the power of our authorities to insure the progress, and protect the rights and liberties, of the 95 per cent. of the population outside the *cacique* fold, who constitute our particular problem and responsibility.

The fact of a “Philippine Legislature,” ostensibly speaking the voice and representing the interests of the Filipino peoples as a whole, is taken seriously only in the United States. Since 1907, when an elective Philippine Assembly was created, Filipino participation in government has been absolutely dictated by two men—Sergio Osmeña and Manuel Quezon—whose interests have not been those of the “submerged masses.” Latterly their energies, and particularly those of Mr. Quezon and his obedient satellites, have been directed principally to obstructing and embarrassing Governor-General Wood in his valiant efforts to better material conditions in the islands despite Congressional limitations and inaction.

A sorer chapter still is found in the fact that Congress also delivered over the “non-



© DeCou from Galloway

FILIPINOS FROM THE MANILA REGION

Christian” peoples of the archipelago to these same *Mestizo* politicians for exploitation and misgovernment. Among these non-Christians are the Mohammedan Moros of Mindanao and Sulu—hereditary enemies of the “Christian” Filipinos—who accepted United States sovereignty, and voluntarily surrendered their arms to our authorities, under express agreement that we would not transfer responsibility for their protection to others.

We kept this pledge from 1903 to 1913, during which time a separate administration of the Moro territory was provided (with a Governor and Legislative Council), which functioned without reference to legislation enacted for Christian Filipinos. This special jurisdiction, which had proved in every way efficient and satisfactory, was abolished under the Harrison régime and the service “Filipinized” throughout.

The result has been—and it will persist until corrected—continual turmoil and bloodshed, with the United States occupy-



© Ewing Galloway

THE GREAT ISLAND OF MINDANAO IS SPARSELY POPULATED BY MOROS AND OTHER SO-CALLED “WILD” TRIBES

ing the unenviable role of lending its offices to kill and destroy these unarmed Moros, favorable to American rule, because they resent the control and maladministration of Filipino officials saddled upon them against their wishes and in violation of our express covenant.

Congressman Robert L. Bacon, of New York, recently offered a bill in Congress retracing our steps to 1913, and restoring administration of the Moro country to American and Moro authority. It does not involve "dismemberment" of the Philippines, but simply provides a local government suited to the needs of the situation. Our self-respect as a nation, and the security and welfare of the Moro peoples, imperatively require this action. Violent protest thereto will naturally be registered by Mr. Quezon and his associates, who see in the measure a diminution of their powers and perquisites. To shirk our plain duty, however, and perpetuate or prolong the present intolerable conditions under which the Moros are suffering, would be a shameful betrayal of a simple people who trusted us, and are now asking that we make good our promises to them.

The virtual surrender of political authority in the Philippines to a small coterie of Filipino *ilustrados*, while we still remain responsible for their acts, is matched in its misdirected altruism by our policy concerning the natural resources of the archipelago.

We have zealously undertaken the educational and cultural uplift of the Filipinos; have raised their standards of living, increased their needs and wants, and stimulated their demands for schools, hospitals, markets, better roads and better public utilities. Without logic or reason, however, we have enacted and perpetuated laws which have paralyzed development of the great potential wealth of the islands, leaving their peoples and government economically stagnant. The present insular revenues, to supply the requirements of twelve million people, are but \$35,000,000 annually, or less than that of the city of San Francisco, with little prospect of material increase under existing conditions.

The Philippines have area of 115,000 square miles, equaling that of New England, New York, and New Jersey combined. Eighty per cent. of this area, or approximately 63,000,000 acres, is public domain of the United States, property of the American people. Of the 20 per cent.

claimed in private ownership, less than one-half is under cultivation. Nearly 90 per cent. of the archipelago still remains fallow and unproductive.

The Filipino masses have not the capital, the initiative, nor the business experience to undertake development ventures of consequence. The educated or political element is too much occupied with "affairs of state" to devote itself to pioneer industrial enterprises. In the whole of the archipelago there is not a single banking institution owned and controlled by Filipinos.

It is self-evident, therefore, that if the great undeveloped resources of the islands—agricultural, forest, and mineral—are ever to be utilized and to take their place in trade channels, it will have to be through the investment of outside capital. Such a consummation would inevitably bring prosperity to the great body of the Filipino peoples, and a necessary increase in public revenues.

Opposition to liberalizing Philippine land laws—a condition precedent to any worth-while development—is voiced by the same chorus which is demanding "immediate and absolute" independence of the islands. They experience no qualms in sacrificing the economic welfare of their people rather than incur a possible risk to their own plans and ambitions. There is also a brand of American who "sees red" at the mere suggestion that American capital be encouraged to utilize these waste lands of the islands for the growing of essential tropical products.

Experts have estimated there are at least 1,500,000 acres of public lands in Mindanao suitable for rubber-growing. If all this area was planted—with a possible saving of hundreds of millions of dollars annually to American consumers—it would represent less than 1½ per cent. of the now idle lands of the archipelago.

If the issue were squarely presented, there are few Americans who would not concede that our primary obligation in the Philippines is to the masses of the people—whether Moros, pagans, or Christian *taos*. We have no special obligation to that small, politically-minded class which has heretofore monopolized the center of the stage, and whose wishes and protests have thus far been given paramount consideration. It is time the United States adopted a permanent Philippine policy based upon the realities of the situation.

If such policy is to be worthwhile, and result to the prestige and advantage of the American and Filipino peoples, it should include: (1) A vesting of sufficient power in the hands of American representatives in the islands to insure that the interests of all classes of the population will be impartially fostered and safeguarded, and that our Government be not placed in a position of responsibility without authority; and (2) adequate provision for a development of the great natural wealth of the archipelago in behalf of Americans and Filipinos alike.

Agitation for Philippine independence at this time is futile and harmful, and should be discouraged. The masses of the people are not remotely prepared, either economically or politically, to maintain and operate a modern democracy. The efforts of their "leaders" to establish otherwise convicts them of ignorance or insincerity. Even were this not true, and even if our Congress is empowered to alienate sovereignty of the United States (which is altogether doubtful), far more is involved than mere granting or withholding independence to the islands.

There is included, as well, the prestige and commercial future of the United States in the Pacific, and the stability and orderly progress of all that vast region to



© Ewing Galloway

A GROUP OF IGOROT CHILDREN IN NORTHERN LUZON, AND ONE OF THE 325 AMERICAN TEACHERS REMAINING IN THE ISLANDS

which the Philippines are neighbor. Abandonment of the islands by the United States, and the injection of an immature "Philippine Republic" into the ferment of Far Eastern politics and intrigue, would produce reactions throughout all the countries of Asia and radically change the destiny of unnumbered millions of people.

SOME FACTS ABOUT THE PHILIPPINES

FROM the northern coast of Luzon to the southern shore of Mindanao—two of the 7000 islands in the Philippine group—is a distance of 800 miles. From east to west the archipelago extends nearly 600 miles. Vast indeed is the region we vaguely comprehend when we say "the Philippines."

The British Isles, not quite so large, contain population elements as varied as the Scotch, Irish, English, and Welsh.

When the Filipino people under Emilio Aguinaldo were waging a forlorn struggle for independence from Spanish rule, in 1898, just before American intervention, their cause had centered in the single province of Cavite on the Island of Luzon. And

when the same Filipino leader four months later sought to persuade the victorious Americans to recognize his own government, his proud boast was that he controlled nine provinces in Luzon and Mindoro. These are the two northernmost islands.

The United States acquired the Philippines as a result of its brief war with Spain, waged to end misrule in Cuba. The Filipinos had seized the moment of Spain's embarrassment in Cuba to launch an insurrection of their own, in 1895, but it had failed; and Aguinaldo was in China, in exile, when Dewey entered Manila harbor. Peace commissioners meeting in Paris, on neutral ground, negotiated a treaty which

ceded Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines to America, leaving the political status of the inhabitants to be determined by the new government. It was the opinion of the world that Spain's effort to govern far-off colonies should come to an end.

The United States paid \$20,000,000 to Spain, on account of the Philippines, and extended commercial privileges. That was in December, 1898, and in the ensuing twenty-eight years we have expended money and energy almost without limit to advance the well-being of the natives.

As a result of three centuries of Spanish rule these natives were, most of them, partly civilized Christian peoples, though there had been little pretense at popular education. To Spain the islands had represented a religious outpost, even the commercial possibilities being almost ignored. More than 99 per cent. of the 10,000,000 population is native born, of Malay stock, speaking various dialects. Ten per cent., perhaps, could use the Spanish language a generation ago. Now there are 1,120,000 in daily attendance at the public schools, where the English language is also taught.

There are 466 islands of more than a square mile in area. The largest is Luzon, 40,814 square miles, about the size of Ohio, with half the population of the entire archipelago. Next in size are Mindanao, 36,906 square miles; Samar, 5123; Negros, 4902; Palawan, 4500; Panay, 4448; Mindoro, 3794; Leyte, 2799; Cebu, 1695; Bohol, 1634; and Masbate, 1255. These smaller islands compare in size with Connecticut's 4965 square miles and Rhode Island's 1248.



OLD AND NEW ON NEGROS ISLAND
(A primitive ferry of bamboo raft)

In 1895, when the insurrection against Spain began, the Philippines exported commodities valued at \$19,000,000. By 1906 the exports had grown to \$32,000,000. In 1916, after a second ten-year interval, they were \$70,000,000. And in the year 1924 they reached the value of \$135,000,000. The islands are thus selling to the world now seven times as much as they sold thirty years ago.

Nearly a third of 1924 exports was sugar, worth \$41,000,000. One-fourth was manila-hemp, worth \$30,000,000. Another fourth was coconut oil and copra (dried coconut), worth \$34,000,000. Cigars and tobacco exported were valued at \$10,000,000. About 70 per cent. of all the exports come to the United States.

In the same year, 1924, the Philippines bought world goods costing \$108,000,000. So there remained, in their favor, a balance of trade amounting to \$27,000,000—which may be said to be doing fairly well for a people whose entire foreign trade, imports and exports, barely exceeded that sum under Spanish rule.

Agriculture is, of course, the basic industry. It was estimated in 1902 that less than 7,000,000 acres of land were being farmed; now nearly 9,000,000 acres are under cultivation. The principal crop by far is rice, followed by sugar-cane, coconuts, hemp, corn, and tobacco.

A determined policy of importing better animals for breeding purposes, and of combatting livestock diseases, has resulted in a vast increase in the number of cattle and hogs. In 1910 there were 243,200 cattle; in 1923, 874,000. In 1910 there were 1,637,000 hogs; in 1923, 7,524,800.

Experts of the U. S. Department of Agriculture have reported that large areas in the Philippines are adapted to the cultivation of rubber, with a potential production of 70,000 tons yearly. At half the present price of forty-two cents a pound that amount of rubber would be worth nearly \$30,000,000.

It is in Mindanao, the southernmost of the larger islands, that rubber trees would be planted; for

Mindanao lies close to Malaya, Ceylon, and Java, where most of the world's rubber is now grown. Mindanao has a population of only half a million, averaging about fourteen to the square mile. With the Sulu islands it constitutes what are known as the Moro Provinces, inhabited largely by persons classed as uncivilized, or Mohammedan.

The Filipinos, as we speak of them, are Malays divided into twenty-four tribes, of whom the Visayans and Tagalogs are the most numerous. The Tagalogs inhabit the region around Manila, the Visayans the middle islands of the archipelago. Of the "wild" tribes the Moros in the south and the Igorots in the north are in the majority.

The Jones Act of 1916—signed by President Wilson—provides a form of government with a Filipino Senate and House, a Filipino cabinet (except the Secretary of Public Instruction), and an American Governor-General. Since 1921 Major-General Leonard Wood has been Governor. The twenty-four Senators and ninety-one Representatives in the legislature are elected by popular vote, except two in the upper house and nine in the lower, who are appointed by the Governor-General to represent certain backward districts.



THRESHING RICE, THE CHIEF CROP OF THE FILIPINO FARMER

The preamble to that Jones Act, representing Democratic opposition to "imperialism," declared that "it has always been the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein."

When Harding became President, in 1921, he sent two commissioners to the Philippines—General Wood and former Governor W. Cameron Forbes—and they recommended that the present status of the islands continue "until the people have had time to absorb and thoroughly master the powers already in their hands."

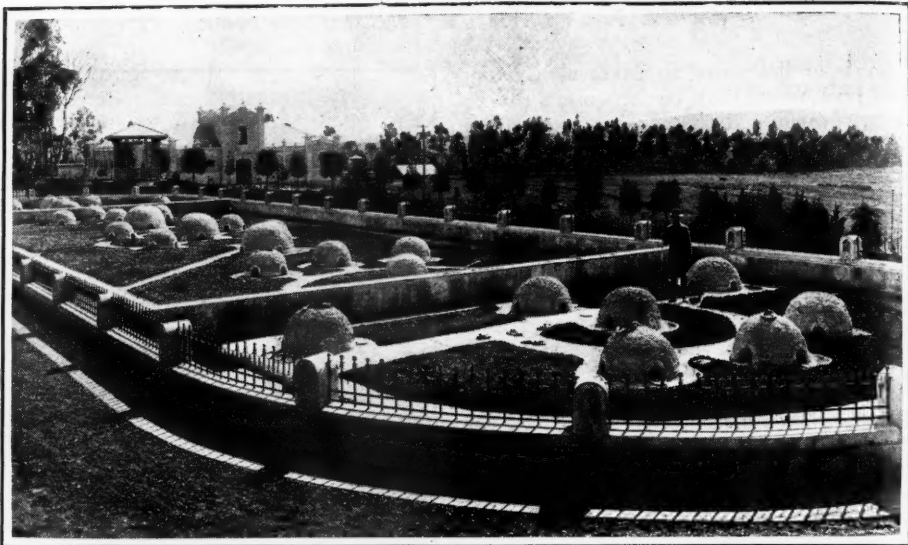
President Coolidge, in 1924, following friction between the Filipino legislature and the American Governor-General, wrote to the Speaker of the House and chairman of the Commission on Independence that "It is not possible to consider the extension of a larger measure of autonomy to the Philippine people until they shall have demonstrated a readiness and capacity to coöperate fully and effectively with the American Government and authorities."

The President now has in the Philippines a personal representative, Hon. Carmi A. Thompson of Ohio, sent there to make an investigation and report.

H. F.



CUTTING COCONUTS TO OBTAIN THE "MEAT"
(Copra and coconut oil valued at \$35,000,000 were exported last year)



THE "SNAKE-FARM" NEAR SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL

(Thousands of snakes are kept for purposes of study, and for use in making anti-venomous serum at the Government Institute of which this farm is a part. A two-foot moat next to the low wall is ample security against their escape)

AMERICAN SNAKES AND BRAZILIAN SERUMS

MOST Americans, having relegated poisonous snakes to the story-book realm, do not know that the numbers of them almost in their own back-yards are steadily increasing. The suburban New Yorker, for example, might be a bit taken aback to learn that the Curator of the Bronx Park Reptile House has gathered over a hundred rattlesnakes in an afternoon on the nearby rocky ledges of Westchester County. For along with forest conservation and the preservation of more amiable wild-life comes the snake; and the fact that camping and hiking are becoming America's favorite way of vacationing adds greatly to the hazard of bites.

That the summer vacationist may know something of snakes and of snake-bite remedies, particularly anti-venomous serums, the present article has been prepared from an interview with Raymond Ditmars, the curator of reptiles at the New York Zoölogical Park, and from information gathered with his assistance. Mr. Ditmars is author of "Reptiles of the World," and a foremost authority on North American snakes. It was his three hundred poisonous

snakes, collected while he was still a boy and kept in his own attic, who were the first inhabitants of the now famous Reptile House at the New York Zoo.

Most of the snakes one meets in the course of a country ramble are harmless and even helpful citizens, of cleanly habits, and destructive of far more harmful insects and rodents. Among these are the garter snake, the green snake, the racing and mountain black snakes, the ribbon and water snakes, and the villainous looking and quite innocent flat-headed "adder." But, fairly enough perhaps, all these are shunned because of the death-dealing propensities of some other members of the snake family.

A Death Every Other Day

About one hundred or one hundred and fifty persons die each year in America from snake-bite. It is at first thought extremely surprising that where snakes and people are both so plentiful so few casualties should result. In Brazil, a country only slightly larger than our own, the yearly total exceeds 5000, and this is only one-fourth of

what it was before the discovery of serums. In India there is an estimated yearly total of 20,000 deaths.

The reasons for the apparently better behavior of North American reptiles are many. The types of snakes and their haunts are easily learned. Our farm workers wear shoes and overalls; we have no native carriers tramping along jungle paths in bare feet. If as ardent propaganda were carried on here against hikers in knickers and thin stockings or low cut shoes as the Indian and Brazilian governments carry on against barefoot workers, our total of fatalities would be even lower.

The comparative rareness of accidents has prevented the development in our own laboratories of an anti-venom serum. Efforts made by the Zoölogical Society to establish one have met with the same response on every side. There are not enough casualties to make the project successful commercially, nor justifiable as a philanthropy, while hundreds of thousands suffer from equally incurable diseases.

But there is a quality both so tragic and so dramatic about a death from snake-bite that the whole country reads with deep interest the account of every death or cure. Recent tragedies in Texas among the cotton-pickers as well as astounding recoveries attending the use of Brazilian serum are cases in point. The spectacular use of the same serum recently on a young man bitten by a rattlesnake in Ithaca, New York, has been featured in every newspaper. Anti-venom was rushed from Mr. Ditmars's private stock (a yearly gift of fifty tubes from the Brazilian laboratory), and the patient made a rapid recovery.

Snakes and Their Habitat

The snakes to be feared in the United States are of four main varieties: rattlesnakes, copperheads, moccasins, and coral snakes. Of these the rattler is by far the most numerous and responsible for a large majority of the recorded bites. It is the only snake found over all the country—with the exception of Maine and northern Vermont, where there are no poisonous snakes. Of seventeen species, most of them make their home

in the Southwest, although the timber rattlesnake of the East and the diamond rattler with his brave black markings of the Southeast and West are exceedingly numerous. It is estimated that there are quite as many rattlesnakes in certain parts of Pennsylvania, for example, as in Texas.

Next important to the out-of-doors traveler in the East is the copperhead. With the moccasin and the rattler, he belongs to the family of *Crotalinae*, or Pit Vipers, possessing a deep pit on either side of the head between eye and nose. But it is not necessary to get that close to identify him. He is an unaggressive snake and rarely strikes unless actually stepped on or touched. His distinctive hazel-brown color, patterned with deep reddish-brown bands, and noticeably copper-colored head are usually ample warning, and accidents are infrequent. Exceedingly common in the east, the copperhead is found nowhere else.

Beginning in North Carolina, and throughout the South, the moccasin is found. He is dull olive in color, with wide transverse bands, and keeps so close to his haunts in the swamps and waterways that even the most ignorant Negroes know where to watch for him. Moccasin bites are seldom recorded.

The last type of poisonous reptile is the gaudy coral snake, found only in the Southeast and extreme Southwest. Accidents here, too, are seldom heard of unless the beautiful red-and-black bandings of this slim, innocent-looking snake lead the venturesome to pick it up.



RAYMOND L. DITMARS (RIGHT) EXTRACTING VENOM FROM A POISONOUS COPPERHEAD

(Mr. Ditmars became Curator of Reptiles at the New York "Zoo" twenty-seven years ago, and is the country's foremost authority on snakes)

In almost all cases and places the country population know what snakes are to be found in that region, their frequency and pet lurking places, and vacationists would do well to inquire from them. The Zoölogical Society in New York is also ready to help those who write for information. Mr. Ditmars reiterates emphatically, in exoneration of his favorites, that practically all the bites reported in this country result from ignorance or foolhardiness. Most of our snakes will bite only if interfered with; they will never pursue. A person adequately dressed (in overalls and high shoes or with gaiters on), who keeps his hands off rocky ledges in climbing, and off stone walls, and who exercises due caution in choosing a camp site, is relatively safe.

What to Do if Bitten

The poison apparatus of all snakes is similar. They *bite*, and are able to shoot forward only the front third of their bodies in doing so. They do not sting, as is often

thought, nor does the forked tongue which flashes angrily in and out have anything to do with the injury. They must, in order to poison, perforate the skin with the two hollow teeth in the upper jaw, which have openings in their tips for the ejection of the venom. The familiar hypodermic syringe copies the structure of these fangs closely. Although the snake can strike from almost any position, its body can not entirely leave the ground.

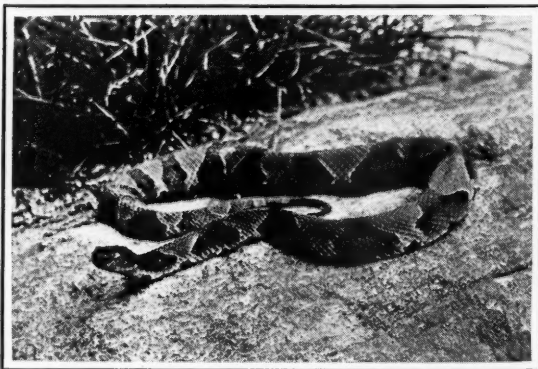
The procedure recommended after a snake-bite is easy to understand and comparatively easy to follow, if the injured person keeps his head. Above all, immediate action is necessary. A ligature, preferably a rubber one, is applied a short distance above the bite, which is invariably on the arm or leg. The wound must then be enlarged by deep cuts, at least as deep as the punctures themselves, along and across it, starting a flow of the poisoned blood. It is not dangerous to suck the blood away provided there are no cuts or abrasions around the mouth. The wound should then be bathed repeatedly in a wine-colored solution of potassium permanganate crystals. If anti-toxin is available this should be injected by means of a hypodermic syringe in some part of the body where it will gain a general circulation—preferably under the skin of the abdomen.

After the wound has been thoroughly bled and washed, the ligature may be removed. Strychnine and brandy may be taken in small quantities as a stimulant. Then journey to the nearest doctor. If one is not available the wounds should be kept perfectly clean, as tissue weakened by snake poison is susceptible to common blood poisoning, and should be packed with dressings saturated in any good antiseptic solution and kept open for at least a week.

Serums That Save Lives

"There is every reason why a healthy man should recover," says Mr. Ditmars. "But the proper means to save life should be executed promptly and systematically."

The problem of procuring serum is a difficult one. In India and



TWO COMMON TYPES TO BE AVOIDED

(Above is a typical American rattlesnake. As it is a young one, the number of joints in the rattle are few. Below is a copperhead, clearly showing the hour-glass markings)

Brazil the importance of saving thousands of lives has stimulated constant experimentation at last crowned with success. The Pasteur Institute at Paris a few years ago perfected a serum effective to an amazing degree against the cobra, the chief offender in India, and the coral snake which is of the same family. Formerly it was also used, by those who knew of its existence and could obtain it, for all snake-bites, although less efficient when so used.

About five years ago the French product was replaced in this country by Brazilian serums prepared at the Government Institute of Serotherapy at Butantan, near São Paulo, Brazil. They are the discovery of one of the country's leading scientists, Dr. Vital Brazil, for many years director of this "snake farm" established in 1897 for the express purpose of obtaining anti-venomous serum. They are manufactured there in large quantities for distribution among the rural population and to hospital centers. Of the 20,000 bitten, each year, 15,000 are now saved by the prompt use of the serums. The number of casualties continues to decrease as the use of the serum becomes more widespread.

In order that a sufficient quantity can be produced, Dr. Brazil recently established a commercial institute at Nictheroy, a suburb of Rio de Janeiro, where the plantation owners desiring more serum than the Government can provide may buy it, and where a small quantity of serum already has been prepared especially for the United States.

The serums are made by extracting the venom of snakes of different varieties in one family, by pressing their jaws against a little glass dish—a highly dangerous proceeding. The venom obtained is dried and dissolved in glycerine. Horses are then immunized by repeated injections of the venom, exceedingly small at first and growing steadily stronger. After about eight months of inoculation an anti-toxin is developed in the blood of the animals



DR. VITAL BRAZIL (RIGHT) DEMONSTRATES THE PROPER WAY TO HOLD A VENOMOUS SNAKE

(Dr. Brazil, the discoverer of Brazilian anti-venomous serums, is acting director of the Government Institute of Serotherapy near São Paulo, and director of the commercial institute at Nictheroy, near Rio de Janeiro)

that neutralizes the attack of the poison. By a carefully designed and humane method about six quarts of blood are then drawn from each horse, and from the colorless or serous part of this blood the serum is prepared. One tube, if promptly injected in repeated doses, is usually sufficient to cure.

An Embargo Against Brazilian Serum

The situation in the United States with regard to this Brazilian serum is as follows: For the past five years a certain amount has been imported annually, for sale and distribution. The quantity was comparatively small, as Brazil could not spare much, and as our public knew little about the serum. At just about the time that the Institute of Serotherapy was producing enough to supply this country with an adequate quantity, an embargo was laid upon its sale by authorities at Washington, in accordance with a public health law of 1902. Serious shortage, and a probable increase in the number of unnecessary deaths during the past year, has resulted.

The Public Health ordinance made in 1902, with good and sufficient reason, is to the effect that no serum or anti-toxin not made specifically for the United States by methods approved by its inspector, the product declared sterile, and the producer duly licensed, can be sold.

Earnest agitation has been carried on to bring the matter to the attention of the Government, by organizations such as the Zoölogical Society, and by various public-spirited citizens. To quote Mr. Ditmars:

As the situation now stands, the New York Zoölogical Society is annually made the repository of about fifty tubes of serum specifically produced for the bites of the dangerous reptiles of this country. This is the sole supply for the United States, and we could mail it all in answer to anxious inquirers in a week's time. As it is, we dispatch tubes only to points of great hazard, or we rush tubes to points of reported accidents.

In reply to the requests that action be taken to lift the ban, our Government several months ago sent an inspector to Dr. Brazil's commercial institute at Nitheroy, where it is proposed to manufacture serum from American rattlesnake venom, a large supply of which they already have at hand, the gift of Mr. Ditmars. They also plan to make serums designed for other North American snakes, in accordance with the United States health laws. The inspector, Dr. Harrison of the Public Health Service, examined the methods at the farm and made a few suggestions agreeable to the Brazilian scientist.

The preparation of the serum for American rattlesnakes has been begun, and should shortly be completed. As soon as a specimen of the serum has been pronounced sterile by the laboratories at Washington, the license—it is said by government officials handling the matter—will be issued and the product will be legally salable in this country. When this occurs, all centers in snake-infested territories would do well to provide themselves with an ample supply.

An American Product Planned

A further promise of aid for the American situation, although not immediate, is found in a plan of the Harvard University De-

partment of Tropical Research, the United Fruit Company, and the Mulford Laboratories. These three organizations propose to establish a plant under the direction of the Harvard School, with Dr. Afranio Amaral, now Harvard lecturer in Ophiology (the science of snakes), at its head. It will be a part of the Philadelphia laboratory of the Mulford Company, one of the best in America.

As well as serum for rattlesnakes, copperheads, moccasins, and coral snakes, a serpentarium run by the United Fruit Company in Honduras will supply the laboratory with venom from various kinds of tropical snakes from which serum will be made to supply the untouched fields of Central America and the South American countries north of Brazil, where many thousands lose their lives yearly from snake-bites. The United Fruit Company hospitals distributed throughout these regions are now badly in need of such serum.

However, Most Snakes Are Harmless

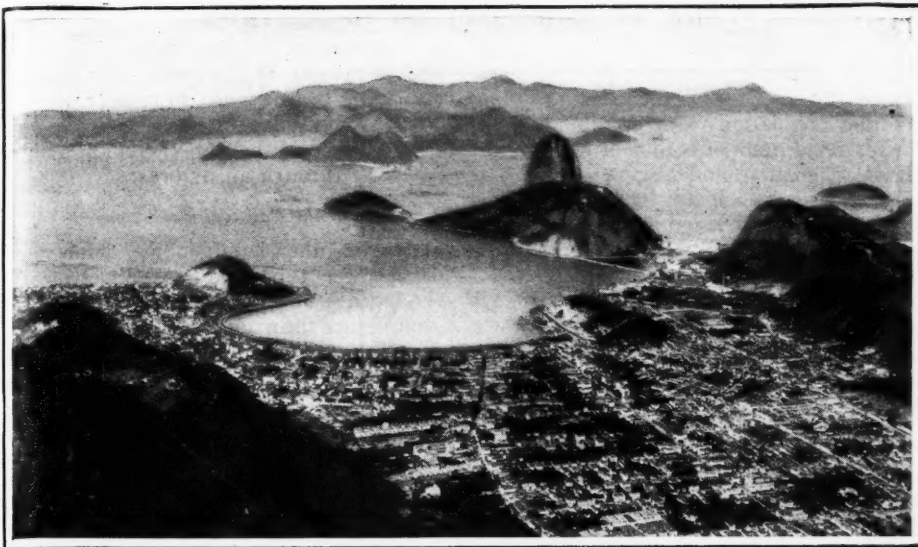
The alleviation of pain and the lowered death-rate from snake-bites which will probably result from the wide use of serums must, however, wait on the lifting of the Brazilian ban and the coming—within a year or so—of the Mulford product.

The use of serum, according to Mr. Ditmars, makes ligatures, cauterization, and bleeding unnecessary, and we may some day look on them as methods of a brutal past. At present they are important allies of the man, woman or child suffering from snake-bite.

In the meanwhile, Mr. Ditmars cautions the new recruits to the out-of-doors to exercise reasonable care and then to proceed cheerfully on their way, which is much more apt to disclose a gentle garter-snake or handsome blacksnake than even a rattler in retreat.

F. P. F.





THE FAMOUS WATERFRONT OF RIO DE JANEIRO, METROPOLIS OF BRAZIL

BRAZIL FROM WITHIN

BY HELIO LOBO

[The author of the following article served for five years as Consul-General of Brazil at New York City, but is at present back in his own country. While in the United States he pursued special studies in government and international law at Columbia University. The threatened withdrawal of Brazil from the League of Nations makes timely this discussion of domestic affairs in that great South American republic.—THE EDITOR]

BRAZIL has in recent years been going through a crisis which has equally befallen other countries—that of post-war readjustment. As had happened to all peoples not called to the battlefield, war-time production in Brazil was intensified due to an increased world demand for various articles, chiefly agricultural. This had caused a rise in prices and thus in turn had improved the welfare of farmers, traders, bankers, and others.

As a consequence of the war, and impelled by necessity, Brazil entered a phase characterized by greater economic and industrial activity. This was carried to such an extent that in several lines—as textiles, boots and shoes, confectionery and others—the country became self-sufficing. It is worth noticing in this particular that if Brazil's foreign trade did not reach expected proportions, its domestic commerce ranks second in all the Americas, following that of the United States. Moreover, Brazil owns the second largest

merchant marine in the new world, after that of the United States.

With the end of the war there came a period of economic and commercial depression throughout the world, followed by the disvalorization of the currency, reduction of exports, a rising cost of living, and other factors of change and unrest. Brazil was not the least affected. Its exports fell off and also the price of its main products. The issues of paper money to which it had to resort, as did others, forced still lower the value of the *milreis*—hampering the exchange of goods, aggravating social problem, and spreading unrest in the large centers. Of all South American countries, Brazil alone—possessing about half the territory and population of that continent—has several nuclei of population besides the capital city; and in all of these, chiefly along the coast, economic and social uneasiness have remained, pending better conditions which the general world situation has not yet permitted.

Lands of immigration, the South American countries have seen the growth of their laboring population, with accumulation in the largest centers of turbulent elements of all races, greatly hindering peaceful progress. This is principally the case of Brazil. By reason of a provision in its constitution that has received extremely liberal interpretation—the one opening national territory to all, regardless of passport—Brazil became the choice of certain undesirables deprived of religion, creed, or morals, to whom a country is so much the better the lower its standards.

Brazil Has Immigration Problems Too

Russian Bolsheviks, Portuguese carbonarios, Spanish and Italian anarchists, the "reds" of every nationality, have accomplished in Brazil, as they have the world over, the overthrowing of order and the establishment of anarchy; with the difference that in Brazil this element enjoys the protection of laws extremely liberal, which only now there is a movement to correct.

It is to misjudge what is going on in Brazil to examine the events of July, 1924, in São Paulo, in the light of factors exclusively Brazilian. There were undoubtedly political factors at play, but there was also participation of the foreign element—not the one which is cooperating in Brazil's progress, but the abusive and anarchical element that thrives upon agitation. It was found out that about one-quarter of the number of rebels arrested by the forces of the Government were foreigners recently landed in the country. The rebellion was in São Paulo but not of São Paulo; and it was precipitated there by political discontent.

We must not lose sight of this if we are to understand the changes through which Brazil is passing. High cost of living, red agitation, economic crisis, such things would have been impotent to deviate Brazil from the path of peaceful achievement, had it not been for the fact that those factors culminated with a long-standing political problem—namely, the placing of the electoral representation upon a better basis.

In democracies of a higher type—chiefly in two of the largest, the British and the American—the Government is undoubtedly in the hands of a minority, which is the percentage of voters represented in the elections. But any citizen may avail himself of the right to vote who registers in his district

and is present at the polls. He scarcely needs any law designed to protect his vote and the reckoning of it, besides the controlling force of the public opinion making itself felt through all its organs.

Vital Political Problems

On the other hand, in the democracies of a lower type—as are unquestionably the Latin—the power is lodged with a small group, since the mass of the people, as a rule illiterate, are not sufficiently educated to understand the value of the vote, and also because the laws and regulations are not so well advanced, being often in conflict with public aspirations or seeking to give them an inadequate solution.

With 30,000,000 population, Brazil presents in its largest election, the presidential one, an electoral body of scarcely 1,000,000 voters. This is very significant of its political problems. The campaign for an increasing participation of the individual in the Government is being fostered by the general progress of the country, the ideals of the new generation, and the strong currents which are changing the world. São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Geraes, Pernambuco, and Rio Grande do Sul, are the centers of a movement which has asked for a better election law and for the institution of the secret ballot. The agitation had its start some years ago, but is still opposed by the electoral machine, more powerful in Brazil than it is in this country, as it does not need to reckon with the power of public opinion, with its investigation and other forms of control.

Likewise, the profound unrest which has been dominating the political life of Brazil finds its chief cause in the manner of choosing the President, by a system similar to the American caucus that was abolished a century ago. It is not my purpose to discuss here whether that system is not the best for the moment, in view of Brazil's lack of communications and the fact that the federal representatives are still the best type of the culture and ideals of the country at large. But the system is meeting with growing opposition from the mass of the population, for its conventionalism and its apparent refusal to take into consideration the popular wishes. It may be pointed out that in a country where 80 per cent. of the population is illiterate, it is natural that the political and social leadership should be in the hands of an enlightened elite.

The adoption of the secret vote, though far from being a panacea for Brazil's present ills, will restore to the people the confidence in its choice and pave the way for a much-needed reform in political education.

States' Rights in Brazil

But besides this fundamental cause of political unrest in Brazil, there are others worth mentioning: The craving for domination of certain army officers forgetful of their duties; the ambition of a group of civilians to whom the salvation of the country appears to lie in the overthrow of the existing order; the removal of the capital from the Federal District to a cosmopolitan center, like Rio de Janeiro, where army and navy have important garrisons, and the place preferred by foreign agitators for their activities. Moreover, the existing administrative and political machinery has established a marked separation between the Union and the States, greatly to the detriment of the economic development of the country. The distribution of taxation, permitting States to levy an export tax, is one instance. Another is the freedom left to the States to contract foreign loans.

It is toward constitutional revision that the President's attention is turned, notwithstanding the period of transition through which the country is passing. Dr. Bernardes maintains the view, shared by other prominent statesmen, that the political machinery should be corrected before any other trouble may set in. More than thirty years of republican practice is calling for a reform which is the more needed when it is known that the Brazilian constitution, unlike the American, has received very little judicial interpretation. Even in countries where the federal form is somewhat lax, like the United States, the development has been toward strengthening the central power by all means. So far as Brazil is concerned the same result will be attained, if not by the constitutional amendment, then by increasing the cases of federal intervention, as the recent one in the Amazonas, to assist misgoverned States or to protect foreign creditors.



IN THE HEART OF SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL'S SECOND LARGEST CITY, AND CENTER OF THE REVOLT OF 1924

Settlement and Development Needed

If we could place the area of Brazil over that of the United States there would still be left a region larger than Texas; and, notwithstanding this, Brazil's railway mileage is about the same as that of Texas. The American people realized from the beginning the rôle that communication would play in the maintenance of national unity, by tackling very early the construction of railways. A similar achievement could not have been attained by Brazil, due to its distance from the European centers of emigration and capital, its physical configuration, and the reason that it is half a century younger as a free country.

Those circumstances explain two fundamental necessities of to-day: the immigrant, who, if well chosen, will bring with him the second necessity. And such is the coöperation, sometimes even unconscious, existing for so long between Brazil and the United States, that it is to-day supplying us with

capital and indirectly with the immigrant, for by closing its own door the United States is sending European immigrants to Brazil.

Some foreign travelers, impressed by the lack of articulation of Brazil's immense territory—which, from the north to the south, is longer to cross than the Atlantic from New York to Liverpool—as well as by the political agitations occurring now and then in the different sections of it, have predicted a separation of Brazil in years to come. This subject was superficially discussed in the United States on the occasion of the São Paulo rebellion. These travelers, however, overlook the underlying facts of Brazilian history and the elements which are now shaping its life.

Portuguese America

History teaches that of the two groups existing in the time of South American independence, one, the Spanish, was divided among nine countries (the Argentine, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia, and Venezuela), while the other, the Portuguese, remained single and is Brazil. This goes to show the remarkable power of unity of the old Portuguese colony, which power the Brazilian people have increased. To this bear witness, for instance, the rebuke of the foreign occupation in the colonial times, one of which, the French, lasted for three years, and another, the Dutch, stayed twenty-four years.

The result is that to-day, notwithstanding its heterogeneous population and the difference of religion and habits prevailing in the annexed territories, the power of national absorption is so great that Tocqueville said its inhabitants bore more resemblance to one another than the Bretons to the Normans in France. What the result will be, now that a new current of immigration is coming to settle the land and open up its riches, only the future can tell.

It is not because São Paulo is carrying more than half of the federal burdens that it would seek separation from the rest of the country. The northern section of Brazil will have its compensation, in due time, as it once had with regard to one of its crops, cane sugar, when its immense wealth will be made again to yield profit. Who would speak of separation because of the fact that six States alone, with a third of the population and half of the laboring popula-

tion, produce half of the industrial output of the whole country; or because six States alone yield about 60 per cent. of the income tax, which in its turn represents about 50 per cent. of the federal revenue?

Estimating Brazil's Future

Nations, like individuals, are prone to judge others by themselves, unmindful of the past. That judgment, however, should reflect the conditions peculiar to each one, the factors which influence the development of each, and the difficulties lying along the way. With the exception of two or three countries—among which is the United States, with its own great problem—all others, whether in Europe or in this hemisphere, are suffering more or less from the same financial disorder, economic instability, and political agitation. With regard to them and not with regard to the most favored comparison should be made.

I do not hold a brief for Brazil, but am only aligning facts. In view of the efforts exerted by the federal administration of Brazil toward balancing the country's budget, restoring its currency and finance, maintaining public order in the midst of political strife, the comparison is not against my country. We have not yet resorted to the wild issues of paper money under the false excuse of protecting the currency; nor have we used any of the radical political measures so much in favor now in some of the European countries.

Brazil and the United States have a great destiny to fulfill in these continents, and they will carry it through. Brazil is younger and has less experience; but it does not follow that it shall fail to tread its path. In 1860, just before the Civil War, the United States had a population of 30,000,000; 18,000 miles of railways; two-thirds of its exports were cotton; the current of immigration was just beginning, and with it the industrial boom and the conquest of the West. If we substitute coffee for cotton we have the case of Brazil to-day. The half-century that Brazil is behind, since its independence dates from 1822, is very little in the life of a country; but it represents much in the life of the American republics, abounding in creative energy. We have made mistakes in the past, and we shall make more; yet as a whole the nation is following its way with a steady pace, and those who have put their confidence in it shall not regret.

SCHOOL-BUILDING IN ALABAMA

THE EXPERIENCE OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY

BY RICHARD WOODS EDMONDS

"I KNOW the schools of every State in the Union, and I am sure that no other county in the United States has out-of-the-city schools as uniformly superior as are those of Montgomery County, Alabama, in up-to-the-minute buildings, in modern equipment, in selection and care of school grounds, and in county-owned homes for teachers, and none are superior in quality and devotion of supervisors and teachers. I have no reservations in this statement."

In such terms Dr. E. A. Winship, editor of the *Journal of Education* (Boston), characterized the public schools of Montgomery County, after spending ten days among them four years ago. His opinions are shared by the Federal Commissioner of Education, Dr. John J. Tigert, and by Prof. P. G. Holden. In 1922, when Dr. Winship's statement was made, the school system of Montgomery County may be said to have been only five years old. The rapid transformation achieved in so brief a time is typical of what has been going on in the schools of the South during the past ten years.

In 1900 a group of sixteen Southern States spent for public schools less than one-fifth as much as the other thirty-two States of the Union. In 1922 they spent one-fourth as much, or nearly half as much per capita. These States are increasing their relative school expenditures more rapidly than they are increasing their relative wealth.

Good Buildings and Roads for a Sparse Population

Montgomery County is preëminently agricultural and pastoral. It has an area of 789 square miles, and its shape is roughly rectangular. At the upper left-hand corner, on the border, lies the city of Montgomery, county seat and capital of the State, and the only incorporated town in the county.

The three nearest towns outside the county are from ten to twenty miles from its borders, east, south and west, so that when we measure distances from Montgomery to points in the county we have also measured the distances of these points from other towns. The city has 43,464 of the county's 80,853 inhabitants. Of the 37,389 people outside the city, 8,753 are white.

To say that outside the city of Montgomery there are only eleven white people—men, women and children—for each square mile of area in the county can not convey a very accurate idea of the immense stretches of undeveloped, untenanted land that reach to right and left as one drives over the smooth, hard roads that net the county. It is a thing that must be seen to be appreciated. Where do children come from to attend the handsome school buildings one passes? More mystifying, who earns, and how, the money to pay for the seven hundred miles of good roads the school trucks used in transporting the children to and from school? I spent a full day visiting the schools. Our party drove a little more than one hundred miles, spent more than half the time in the school buildings, and traveled at an average rate, I should say, of thirty miles per hour. We could have traveled sixty miles an hour with equal comfort.

By way of comparison, Rhode Island has a land area of 1,067 square miles—35 per cent. greater than the area of Montgomery County. Its population is 639,400, or nearly twenty times the white population of Montgomery County, and about twelve times its entire population. It is easy to understand how a State so densely populated can have good roads. It is not so easy to understand how a county so sparsely populated that in an hour's drive through its southern half one sees scarcely two dozen people or a dozen cars can maintain a

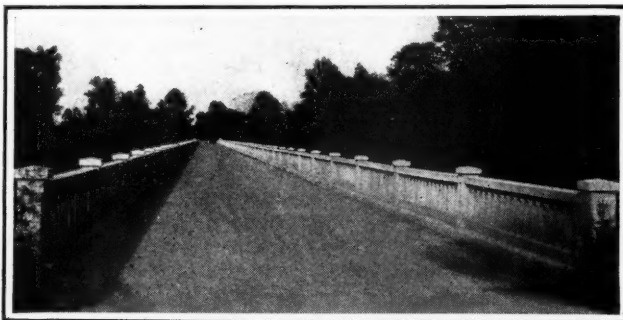
system of roads good for a speed of sixty miles per hour in comfort and safety, and schools that operate a large fleet of motor buses to bring farm children to school and take them home. That is what Montgomery County is and does.

Increasing School Taxes

Prior to 1915 the revenues for the county schools of Alabama had been raised by a State-wide 3-mill tax and supplemented by such appropriations as the legislature saw fit to make. In 1915 W. F. Feagin, State Superintendent of Education, championed a proposed amendment to the State Constitution which would permit each county to supplement its share of the State tax money by an additional county-wide three-mill tax, and, on top of that, to permit the county boards of education to divide the individual counties into school districts which should have the privilege of voting a further three-mill district tax. This amendment was adopted.

Survey of Montgomery County

Montgomery County school conditions were somewhat worse than those throughout the State, but once aroused the county seems to have been the more aggressive and determined in its efforts to secure the best schools possible. When the constitution was amended as above, Montgomery County offered the post of County School Superintendent to Mr. Feagin, and Mr. Feagin, glad of an opportunity to concentrate on a single county in order to show the State what a county school system should be, accepted the offer. His first step was to have a survey made of the schools of the county. The results of that survey he laid before the people of Montgomery County—



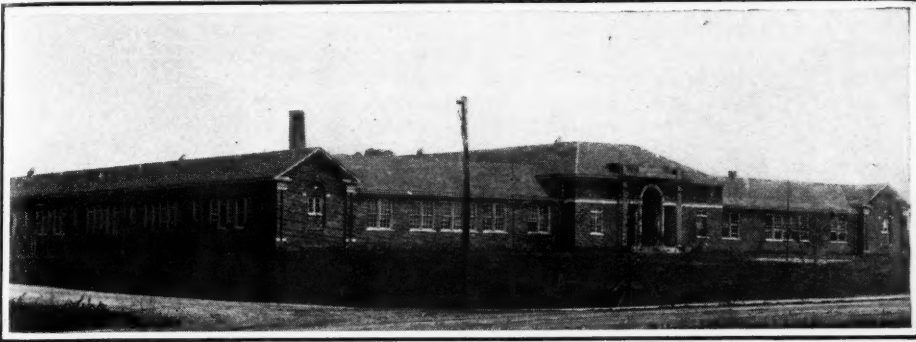
EXAMPLE OF ROAD CONSTRUCTION IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY, ALABAMA, THAT MAKES THE SCHOOL BUS SYSTEM POSSIBLE

eighty-six little county schools, a few with three rooms, several with two, and most with only one room and one teacher. Bare, ugly, wretched little places they were, cold in winter and ill-ventilated and poorly lighted at all times. Their facilities were meager and poor to the last degree. Only two of them were well ventilated and only one received the standard amount of daylight. Fresh air for most of them came through cracks in doors, walls and ceilings. Eleven of them depended for drinking water on open cisterns filled by rain from the time-soiled roofs. In the others the children brought water in buckets from near-by farm wells. Three schools had no toilets at all, and twenty-eight had none for boys. In those classed as having toilets the sanitary conditions were probably worse than in those having none.

The farmers of the county had never known anything else, and were aware of no reason to be dissatisfied. The people of the city of Montgomery, with 53 per cent. of the population of the county, had never thought much about the matter. In the South, be it understood, the city and the county are two entirely distinct jurisdictions, the city limits ending where the population of the business life of the city runs thin, each operating its own system of schools, the city thus having no responsibility whatever for the schools of the county. Montgomery city schools were up to standard; the county schools were none of the city's business. Nevertheless, when the facts were published, the people began to think.

Adoption of Consolidated Schools

Mr. Feagin's second step was to have the Board of Revenue call an election to submit to the people a proposal for a county-wide three-mill school tax. Intense opposition to the plan developed in some rural sections where the shortcomings of the existing system were not realized and all that was clearly understood was the intended abolition of many little local schools, and the substitution thereof of two schools far from the majority of the children who would use them.



MONTGOMERY COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL IN ALABAMA, COSTING \$150,000, IS THE TYPE OF BUILDING WHICH HAS SUPERSEDED THE ONE-ROOM SCHOOLHOUSE

Mothers were so suspicious of the proposed bus system that for a while after it was installed many of them daily watched for news of overturned buses and crushed children. Before it was established they much preferred to cling to evils they knew all about than fly to others they knew not of. But the opposition of the county people was offset by the advocacy of the city people, who, in this and following elections, voted ten or twelve to one in favor of taxing themselves for schools their children would never use. I believe this instance of a city voting overwhelmingly in favor of taxing itself to support schools miles out in the country, and for which it is not bound to tax itself, is something unique.

The fight was successful, and plans were adopted for the first two schools. The opposition had been more intense in some sections than in others, and the School Board adopted the aggressive policy of building first in those sections of fiercest opposition. The Pike Road School, built in 1918, was the first of the new schools. It is a consolidated elementary, junior and senior high school; that is, it is designed for twelve grades, six elementary, three junior and three senior high.

In April, 1920, Superintendent Feagin again resigned, this time leaving school work, and his place was taken by Alfred F. Harman.

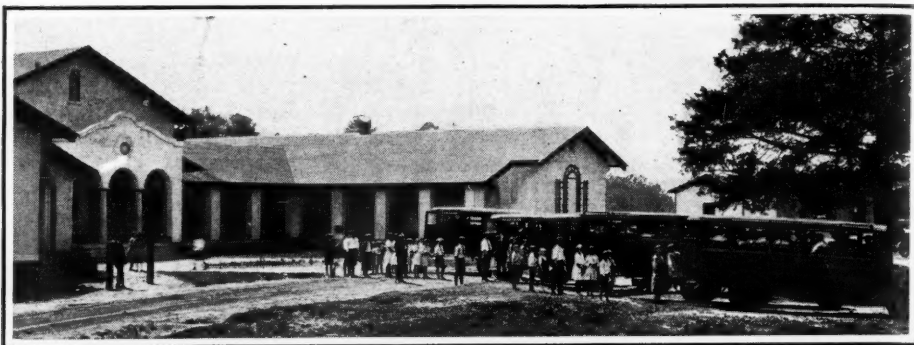
If Mr. Feagin was an able and aggressive pioneer in the transformation of a backwoods county school system into the embryo of the best in the United States, Mr. Harman was in every way a worthy successor. He adopted the plans he found, enlarged them, and carried the work on with splendid success.

Mr. Harman took hold of the work with Pike Road school in operation and the Ramer school, the second of the series, not quite complete. Under his able management fourteen more schools have been built. Ramer remains the largest. It has a maximum capacity of six hundred pupils with an enrollment in 1924-25 of 355. Of these, 265 were transported by ten school buses, which traveled 410 miles every day.

This enrolment was not reached the first year, but the demonstration of efficiency in transporting all children who needed it, and in general satisfaction, both at Pike Road and Ramer, accomplished a complete victory over all opposition in these two hostile centers; and as news of the satisfaction given here spread over the county, hostility evaporated to a certain extent elsewhere.

Model Buildings

The county now has sixteen new schools—eight elementary, five consolidated elementary and junior high, and three consolidated elementary, junior and senior high. They are the last word in perfection of design and construction in all details. They are lighted from one side only, so that desks may be set for the light to come always over the left shoulder; they are ventilated from two sides. They have ample electric lighting facilities for dark days. They are well built and well heated for winter. Each school has its electrically-driven or gasoline-driven pumping plant which supplies running water from its own well to all parts of the building. All have sanitary drinking-fountains, modern toilets, sanitary sewerage systems and shower-baths. They all have large, attractive



ONE OF THE NEW SCHOOLS, OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY, WITH A GROUP OF THE BUSES USED TO TRANSPORT THE CHILDREN EVERY DAY

auditoriums equipped with screens and projectors for motion-pictures. The stages are designed with a view to amateur and professional theatricals, and equipped with handsome curtains. The seats are removable for dancing. All the schools have telephone connections, although one is twenty-nine miles from Montgomery and twenty miles from a railroad, and another is nineteen miles from Montgomery and four miles from a railroad.

How the Children Are Carried to School

In 1917, when the system was established, Montgomery County had to do some pioneer work in the development of its bus lines. The development of a transportation system capable of scouring the entire 789 square miles of the county so thoroughly that every child living more than a mile from a school should be carried to and fro, expeditiously and with entire safety, and all within the cost limit imposed by the funds available, was no small problem. It required careful arrangement of the bus routes and schedules, and thorough training of drivers. It required an efficient maintenance department. Above all, it required eternal vigilance to keep all drivers alert and careful of the safety of the children and the welfare of their cars. T. L. Head, Jr., Assistant Superintendent of Education, is charged with the responsibility of this department. So well has he done his work that his buses have a record of never having maimed a child. In 1924-25, 1639 children were carried without accident a total of 242,672 miles. To insure this degree of safety, and the requisite punctuality, elaborate regulations have been worked out and are strictly enforced. Mr. Head's depart-

ment alone is an interesting subject for study.

School Buildings as Community Centers

The schools of Montgomery County are not limited in their use to the children. The Board of Education provides year-round janitor service, and summer as well as winter the school buildings serve as community centers, assembly and lecture halls for the adults of their communities. Here the farmers and their wives assemble to see plays given by their children—something wholly new to their experience. Here the farmers assemble for lectures on agriculture or cattle raising, and their wives for home demonstration meetings. I asked Mr. Harman to give me a list of the uses to which they are put, and this is what he gave me:

- Two weddings—at the Grady school.
- For community fairs on many occasions.
- For political meetings. Mr. Harman says, "There has never been any objection to this, the understanding being that all factions should have access to the buildings for their meetings."
- For meetings under direction of home and farm demonstration agents.
- For banquets and informal dinners.
- For musical entertainments.
- For meetings of the Parent-Teacher organization.
- "For a meeting to promote the growing of sheep within the county—this within the past week." (Mr. Harman's letter of August 10)
- For amateur and semi-professional theatricals.
- For polling places.
- "For neighborhood gatherings of a non-school nature—one of these within the past week."

Community questions that formerly received no attention are threshed out in the school auditoriums. The farmers are discovering new interest in civic problems. The people become better acquainted with

one another, and instead of having their acquaintanceship limited to an area of, perhaps, five to ten miles in diameter, they are extending it over an area four times as large. And as they broaden the horizons of their acquaintanceship they broaden their intellectual horizons with discussions of subjects never before contemplated.

Mental Stimulus

The effect is marked. The principal of one school told me that every time he plants a rose in the school yard another is planted in a farmyard of the district served by that school. This is symbolic of the influence of the new schools. An innate love of beauty is being reached and stimulated. Similarly, through organized efforts—fashion shows, dressmaking classes and the like—which use the schools as centers, an innate love of good clothes is being satisfied. So it goes through many subjects. People who have grown up out of reach of the refinements and luxuries of life are being taught what they are worth and how to have them. Here is a concrete example that may be extreme but that serves to illustrate the whole leavening process. Mr. Hearin, president of the County Board of Education, showed me a picture of a little girl of ten or twelve standing in the road in front of a wretched hovel not fit for a barn, her schoolbooks in her arms, about to step on a school bus. She had a bright, happy face and was well dressed. Mr. Hearin said, "Here is a million-dollar child living in a \$200-house about to get on a \$4,000-bus to ride over a good road to a \$100,000 schoolhouse."

"That is a very touching story," I said. "A beautiful sentiment. I don't want to seem cynical or to start an argument, but I am a great believer in the potency of heredity. How do you account for the fact that parents who were so shiftless and incompetent as to live in that hovel can produce a child who can reasonably be called a million-dollar child?"

"I don't know," he replied. "It is a question I have pondered many times, because it applies

to thousands of people in the South who have lived in such fashion, but whose children blossom out wonderfully in a more favorable environment. It seems inconceivable that ability and ambition should exist so completely dormant as it has done in these people, but we know that what the children develop must on the whole be dormant in the parents. It just appears to be a case of people growing up in an environment so depressing and so hopeless that human nature can not combat it unaided in a generation or two. The father of that little girl was opposed to letting her go to school, and we had to resort to the compulsory school law. Yet she and her brother are both bright, capable children, and after they had been in school about a year their father began to be aroused through the effect upon them, and the result was that he got a larger, better farm and began to prosper as he had never prospered before. He simply didn't know that there was anything better within his reach. His parents and his grandparents had lived in the same manner. All his desires and ambitions had been smothered in the backwoods under grinding poverty and ignorance."

Handicaps of the Section

To appreciate the problem presented by Montgomery County and many more like it in the South, it is necessary to consider briefly the history of the section.

Prior to the Civil War the small farmer in the South was in economic competition with the slave-owning planter. Free labor on a farm gives the owner an advantage



MAY DAY—FOUR MILES FROM A RAILROAD AND SIXTEEN MILES FROM THE NEAREST TOWN

that cannot be overcome. Since the planter employed a tutor for his children, he had no use for free schools. In fact, free schools were scarce and unpopular throughout the South, the well-to-do of the cities sending their children to private schools. Consequently the small farmer was held in poverty and generally denied the advantages of an education. He was the "po' white trash," despised alike by slaves and slave owners; the "forgotten man," not worth an education. After the War, all farmers were thrown into direct competition with the former slaves with their low standards of living, and this competition, combined with the effects of the Reconstruction period and its product, the single-crop system, proved a handicap few were able to overcome. The Negroes sold their crops for what they could get; the white farmers had to sell theirs at the same price or not at all. Negro labor in the South is considered essential to prosperity by most Southerners, but Negro competition has been the most fearful drag on the Southern whites to which they could have been subjected.

The crop sold, came then the supply merchant who had grub-staked the farmer for seed and fertilizer, food for his family and feed for his cattle at a ruinous rate of interest, and collected all that the farmer had made, leaving him still dependent upon the supply merchant for the following year's living. There seemed to be no getting ahead of the game. Thousands of the most energetic Southerners left for the West in

order to escape a system they could not break, and their energy played a great part in the settlement of the Western States. Among those who stayed at home, is it any wonder that an attitude of helplessness amounting almost to lethargy settled over them? People who have grown up in such an atmosphere, who have been taught from infancy a tradition of hopelessness and despair, are not easily aroused to efforts at self-help.

It is no small task to take in hand such a county, with its sparse white population scattered over 789 square miles, with three Negroes competing with every white man, wipe out the old type of school that has persisted for generations, and substitute therefor a system so excellent that expert students of the schools of the nation call it the nation's finest. No people take kindly to sweeping changes, and country people least of all. This is the task Montgomery County has accomplished.

In the doing of it, the Negro schools have not been overlooked. If they have not been so greatly improved as have those of the white children, it is not strange. In the first place the Negroes pay smaller taxes per capita. In the second place, the citizens of Montgomery County feel that money spent on the education of white children will pay larger dividends than money spent on black children. Yet they have not overlooked the fact that the cultural level of the Negroes imposes a drag that must be lifted before the cultural level of the whites can reach its true elevation.



A SCHOOL AUDITORIUM WHICH SERVES NOT ONLY THE SCHOOL BUT THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY, BRINGING THE PEOPLE TOGETHER AND MAKING BETTER CITIZENS

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

Canadian Nationalism

IN COMMENTING on the crisis in Canadian politics which began with the resignation of the Mackenzie King government late in June and culminated in the dissolution of Parliament and the calling of a general election for September, the British press has been quick to note that the real issue was more than a question of dealing with corrupt customs officials. Thus the *Spectator* (London), after mentioning the divergent interests of eastern and western Canada and the demands of the Maritime Provinces for fuller recognition, speaks of the present obscurity of party views as to what are the right relations between Canada as a nation and the empire itself.

The problem is as interesting as it is difficult. Recently the Canadian House of Commons unanimously passed Mr. Mackenzie King's motion providing that before ratifying military or economic treaties the Canadian Government must ask for the approval of the Canadian Parliament. A simple truth was once blurted out by Mr. Bonar Law in one of his characteristic exercises in thinking aloud; he said that if a Dominion tried to cut herself adrift—a refusal to ratify an Imperial Treaty in certain circumstances would mean that—Great Britain would not try to prevent her by force. The war against the North American colonists would never be repeated. The fact that the Dominions know this is really the strongest guarantee that they will not want to leave the Empire. They are held by a silken cord.

There is much discussion of the future relations of Canada and Great Britain in the event of war. The Conservative leader, Mr. Meighen, has declared that the ratification of war should come from a new Parliament especially elected for the purpose. The *Spectator* points out that delay on the part of any of the dominions in joining in a war, if the Parliament of that dominion had to ratify the decision, might be fatal. If a specially elected Parliament had to meet there might be a delay of six weeks. But, the *Spectator* adds:

Are we alarmed by these possibilities? Hardly at

all. We know perfectly well that if Great Britain went to war in a just cause which concerned the whole Empire it would be impossible to hold the Canadian people back. That certainly transcends all the difficulties of form and method. But we trust that whatever Canadian Government may be in power in the autumn it may be able to lay a clear case for discussion of these aspects of Canadian nationhood before the Imperial Conference.

The *London Times* is also impressed by the uncertainty of the Canadian situation and declares that Canada's political position is such as to arouse the keenest sympathy throughout the empire.

It is not because Canada is feeble or backward that her electors find it difficult to make a final choice between contending parties or to ensure the establishment of a strong majority Government. It is because she is rapidly growing, and because her domestic and external problems are multiplying so fast that the best of party formulas seem often to have a belated air. There is a difficult internal problem of Canadian unity as between East and West, and there is the still broader problem of the status of the Canadian nation in the British Empire and in all the tangle of modern international relations. Clearly, much of the trouble lies in the restless search, through a maze of new economic and political developments, for some clearer and more complete definition of Canadian nationhood that will give more cohesion and greater precision of aim to all the fresh variety of powerful forces and interests in British North America.

The truth is that the international affairs of the Empire afford clear scope for a parallel recognition of the local and immediate interests of its component parts, for the close concern of Great Britain with Europe and for the special interests of Canada in the United States. There are also in history moments which may never be exactly defined in codes or predetermined in any constitution, when the Empire must act as one whole in the face of all the world.

In this connection the plea of a Canadian nationalist leader, contributed to the *Round Table* (London), is of special interest at this time. This writer is dissatisfied with the frequently reiterated statements that Canada is already a nation, that she is a member of the League of Nations, and is occasionally

permitted to take part in international gatherings.

The Canadian nationalist would like the Imperialists in Canada and Great Britain to know that he is weary of all this talk, which he regards as child's play and humbug. He knows that Canada is not a nation; that her claimed status of equality is one of actual subordination; that her Parliament is an inferior Parliament; that the advice of her Ministers on matters of Canadian importance can, in theory and in fact, be over-riden by the advice of other Ministers not responsible to Canadian public opinion; that her laws are not finally reviewable, as is the case with every nation, by her own courts; that Canada is a member of the League of Nations under false pretenses in view of the persistence in the claim

that all the nations of the Empire must always act together in external matters; and that the other nations of the world regard the British Dominions, and rightly so, as nothing but colonies in the absence of any attempt to regularize their supposed status by declarations having an international significance. He asks the question and will continue to ask it in a steadily rising voice: Is there room for a Canadian nation within the Empire? He still believes, with General Smuts, that new formulas can be found, removing the present anachronism and turning the Empire into a community of free nations, working together in harmonious coöperation. It might not be advisable for the Imperialists to discourage him in this belief by answering "No" to the question which he asks.

Thomas Jefferson—Palæontologist

TO THE other varied accomplishments and interests of the author of the Declaration of Independence may be added, on the testimony of Dr. Frederick A. Lucas, now honorary director of the American Museum of Natural History, his contribution to the science of Palæontology. "He may well claim to be the Father of Palæontology," says Dr. Lucas, writing in *Natural History* (New York) for May-June:

"Dolly" Madison, so we are told, found the big east room of the White House convenient for drying clothes; Jefferson used it for laying out the bones which he had secured from the famous Big Bone Lick, Kentucky. . . . This may be called the first palæontological laboratory in America.

Although Cotton Mather is credited with having given the Mastodon to the world in 1712, and it was christened by Blumenbach in 1799, to Jefferson and Peale belongs the credit of having introduced him to his fellow fossils. Jefferson seems to have had faint hopes that the Mastodon might still linger in the unexplored country west of the Mississippi; Lewis and Clark's expedition was charged to keep an eye out for him, at least.

Jefferson, in 1784, entered into correspondence with the president of Yale, Ezra Stiles, in order to find out all he could about the bones of "the Animal incognitum found in America, or of the Mammoth as the Russians call the same animal." He was particularly anxious to learn whether this specimen was related to the elephant of Asia and Africa—a theory which he did not believe. His letter shows him to have been conversant with the various activities in the palæontological field

then under way, particularly as regards the Mammoth.

Superstition among the Indians, and many of the colonists, was that the bones were those of a giant Indian. In a later letter to President Stiles, Jefferson writes:

I thank you for your information as to the great bones found on the Hudson River. I suspect that they must have been of the same animal with those found on the Ohio; and, if so, they could not have belonged to any human figure, because they are accompanied with tusks of the size, form and substance, of those of the elephant. I have seen a part of the ivory, which was very good. The animal itself must have been much larger than an elephant.

The animal associated in scientific circles with Jefferson's name, however, is one of the great ground sloths, a group of animals peculiar to America. The first of these was found in Argentina in 1789; the one described by Jefferson was found about ten years later:

In 1797 when Jefferson left for the White House, he took with him a number of bones from a cave in Green Brier County, Virginia, on which he later based a communication to the American Philosophical Society, describing the animal, and giving to it the name *Megalonyx*, to which a French naturalist later affixed the specific name *jeffersoni*, in memory of its discoverer. The bones themselves are preserved at the Philadelphia Academy of Sciences.

Dr. Lucas concludes his discussion of another of the off-shoots of this extraordinarily keen and curious mind with Doctor Goode's quotation "Had he not been a master in statecraft he would have been a master in science."

Bolívar and Pan-Americanism

IN PANAMA in June, representatives of the twenty-one American republics celebrated the centenary of the Congress that was held at that place in 1826 on the call of Bolívar, the great South American liberator. Apropos of that celebration, the *Bulletin* of the Pan-American Union (Washington) for June was largely given up to articles relating to Bolívar's ideas of Pan-Americanism, his prophecies regarding America, and the significance of his Pan-American Congress. In a foreword Dr. L. S. Rowe, Director-General of the Pan-American Union, points out that the first Congress of Panama had a meaning far deeper than the questions that were discussed at its sessions.

Bolívar saw with great clearness of vision the essential unity of interest of the nations of the American continent and the importance of close understanding between the struggling peoples, in order that they might maintain the ideals for which they were prepared to undergo every hardship and to make every sacrifice. It is this vision of a united America, setting new standards of international relations, which constitutes the real significance of Bolívar's service to America and to the world.

In Dr. Rowe's opinion Bolívar saw more clearly than any of his contemporaries that America could best fulfil her mission by aiming at unity of policy and of purpose. It is indeed remarkable that he should have seen this so clearly, as Dr. Rowe points out, at a time when America's future was full of doubt and uncertainty. "The fact that he had the imagination and statesmanlike outlook to visualize the future gives him a position of outstanding importance among the statesmen of the world."

Certain points of contrast between the Pan-Americanism of Bolívar and that of to-day are brought out by Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro, the Minister of Panama to the United States. He shows that the Pan-Americanism of Bolívar had, as its real objective, a political alliance—the creation of a great international system to defend the liberties gained in the Latin-American wars for independence and the maintenance of peace among the American nations. Spain was then regarded as the common

enemy of Latin-American independence and so the chief purpose of the proposed federation was the defeat of Spanish arms on the South American continent. Several of the former colonies were still in a state of war with the mother country when the Congress met.

To-day, on the other hand, according to Dr. Alfaro, Pan-Americanism is entirely compatible with Hispanism. Indeed, the modern attitude of Latin-American liberals toward Spain strikingly suggest that of the modern school of North American historians toward Great Britain:



SIMON BOLÍVAR,
THE "LIBERATOR"

A century of independent life has reconciled the daughters with the mother. History, purged of errors, has, in the cold light of facts, reached conclusions which tend to demonstrate that the war for independence was essentially a civil war. A war of democracy against monarchism, a war of liberalism against absolutism, a war of republics against the Crown of Spain; but a war, also, in which, just as there were Spaniards fighting in the ranks of the patriots, so also notable native-born chiefs were fighting under the royalist standards, together with a contingent of native population as considerable as it was formidable. A conscientious review of the facts permits us now to see that the wrongs in which the insurrection of the colonies originated were not faults peculiar to Spain, but faults inherent in the whole colonial system and in the time and epoch: the identical faults of Great Britain in the North, of France in Haiti, the faults which everywhere

engendered the clash of despotism with the rights of man.

The Pan-Americanism of our day is described by Dr. Alfaro as essentially peaceful, neither creating nor tending to create political ties.

It endeavors to develop and intensify commercial relations; protect the treasures of American archaeology; promote university interchange; foster a wider knowledge of the intellectual production of the various groups or nationalities; promote the adoption of sanitary measures protecting maritime traffic and public health; honor the memory of the great heroes and benefactors of the New World; arrange for the assembly of congresses devoted to science or charity, the creation of institutions of public utility; establish uniformity of nomenclature, of weights and measures, of passports, of the principles of maritime law, and to promote the study of social problems. Finally, Pan-Americanism seeks to realize the grandiose juridical ideal of the codi-

fication of international public and private law; to avoid or prevent conflicts between American states and to give the most ample scope possible to arbitration as the only civilized means of deciding international conflicts.

As to the significance of the Congress itself, Mr. James Brown Scott gives an interesting explanation of some of the reasons that actuated President John Quincy Adams in accepting the invitation to send delegates on behalf of the United States to the Congress. It was urged in those days that Washington's Farewell Address opposed participation in foreign conferences, but to those objections President Adams replied that since the occasion of the address, American nations had come into being with a set of American principles. "Europe has still her set of primary interest with which we have little or remote relation. But we were then the only independent nation of this hemisphere; and we were surrounded by

European colonies, with the greater part of which we had no more intercourse than with the inhabitants of another planet. Those colonies have now been transformed into eight independent nations, extending to our very borders, with reference to whom our situation is neither detached or distant, whose political principles and systems of government, congenial with our own, must and will have an action and counteraction upon us and ours, to which we can not be indifferent if we would."

It should be remembered in this connection that President Adams had been Secretary of State in the Monroe Administration, when the great doctrine known by that President's name was formulated. Delegates from the United States to the Congress of Panama were duly appointed, objections of Congress notwithstanding, but failed to arrive in time to have any part in the deliberations of the conference.

Effect of Crime News Upon Public Opinion

THE possibilities for good or bad related to the handling of anti-social news by editors and reporters are generally recognized, but few practical suggestions have been made for minimizing the evil resulting from the publication of such news. In the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* (Chicago), for May, Mr. Robert D. Highfill gives a rather elaborate survey of the situation and reaches several conclusions as to the methods that should be employed in dealing with these problems.

He regards the code of ethics for newspapers adopted by State and national organizations as beneficial in that it teaches the inexperienced or careless editor that there are dangerous factors connected with the handling of any anti-social news. Lest the editor himself should fail to recognize the dangerous elements in such news, it is proposed that he should have the assistance of a man who is trained at least in the rudiments of criminology. In the large news-distributing agencies or on the larger metropolitan dailies, all stories of crime and scandal should pass over the desk of the criminology expert before being distributed or printed.

His duty would be to weigh carefully each piece of anti-social news presented, to accept those stories which gave promise of social results, to re-

ject those which were definitely anti-social in presentation, or to modify them in such a way as to remove the offending elements. He would have complete charge of the crime policy of the organization or paper. In the latter case he would specify the position a piece of crime news should occupy, the space to be given it and the typographical presentation. Editorials, letters, book reviews, "love problems"—in fact, all copy containing anti-social matter, would be subject to his scrutiny before presentation. He would not necessarily eliminate scandalous or criminal matter; he would treat it in such a way as to remove its insidious effects, in this way turning a social poison into a social laxative.

To the end that reporters and editors of the future may be properly trained, schools of journalism should require the same training in criminology as that proposed for, and required by, reputable law schools. That a lawyer should be trained in criminology is beyond dispute, for he is preparing himself to deal with crime in its relation to the individual. The journalist, who is to be responsible for the presentation of anti-social facts to society should have even a better training in the subject. His work affects society as a whole.

Since court news will require special treatment, several suggestions made by lawyers and others who have studied these problems are incorporated in this article. One of these is for the enactment of laws similar to those in England prohibiting newspapers from publishing anything concerning the case other than a verbatim report of the proceedings in open court; prohibit-

ing newspapers from commenting, either editorially or otherwise upon evidence until final judgment; and forbidding under penalty of removal and fine any prosecuting officer from expressing or suggesting for publication an opinion as to the guilt or innocence of an accused person, or from disclosing the proceedings of a grand jury, or from publishing any evidence in his possession bearing upon any case which he is prosecuting.

Finally, in developing the idea that crime is the great sewer of society, Mr. Highfill says:

Now sewage can be so treated—not, indeed, by ignoring it—that by subtle chemical action its own bacteria destroy each other. But it took years of misery, scores of plagues, and countless lives to point the way to scientific sanitation which came from the labors of bacteriologists. They did not treat sewage by uncovering it, by shouting its stench and terrors to the world, by probing into

it, by advertising it in lurid, sensational form. They confined it in its proper place, put in the proper mixtures of beneficent ingredients and thus secured the hygienic results for which they labored.

May we not ask our great newspapers to study this problem of social sanitation with the same thoroughness manifested by the bacteriologists? Will they not be able to see that the social bacteria of crime news when released among the diverse elements of our population before being purged of their deleterious qualities, is the moral equivalent of the open sewer? Finally, will they not admit that it is folly to depend on the unskilled mind for direction, while the process of pollution is allowed to go on?

When they do realize these things, then we may trust their patriotism to replace the sensational reporter and the sensational editor with reporters and editors who are willing to forego "scoops" for the public good; who will weigh and treat carefully each piece of scandal and crime instead of throwing it raw to the masses; who will gradually build up public morals and stimulate public interest by stressing, not the destructive, anti-social, but the constructive social elements in our civilization.

Aerial Armament and Disarmament

THE ruthless inhumanity attending the submarine warfare of 1914-1918 did not approach in studied frightfulness that which can be charged to aerial bombing, and which is already planned as the airplane's contribution to the next war, says Clifford Tinker in the June *Current History* (New York). Gas warfare, according to his statement, is to be carried the length and breadth of all future fronts by means of airplanes, along with bombing, and other aerial warfare.

Although the airplane had its real military birth in the early days of the Great War, poison gas in one form or another, has been in use since the fifth century B. C. Its use at Ypres by Germany in April, 1915, put an end to a temporary ban agreed upon at The Hague in 1899 by the great powers of the world—including Germany—and confirmed in 1907. By 1918 gas attacks were one of the commonest forms of warfare.

Since the war, humane sentiments in this respect have again sprung up. At the Washington Arms Conference in 1922 it was agreed to prohibit the use of "asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and all analogous liquids, materials and devices." An agreement was signed also in June, 1925, by twenty-seven nations prohibiting the use of bacteria and poison

gases. Yet aircraft development, Mr. Tinker points out, goes steadily ahead.

The *Literary Digest* (New York) for June 19 reports the recent appropriations for army and navy aviation. An annual expenditure of \$40,000,000 has been authorized for a five-year period at the end of which time the United States is to have 1,800 airplanes and as many airships and balloons as the Secretary of War may recommend. Four hundred and three officers are to be added to the Air "Corps" and enlisted men to the sum of 15,000. The Navy in addition has been authorized to expend \$85,000,000 over a like period, providing for the construction of 1,947 airplanes and two rigid dirigibles vastly larger than the *Shenandoah*, together with the necessary increase in personnel and the purchase of a small duralumin-covered airship for experimental purposes. This, it is estimated, should give the nation a total of 3,800 fighting planes.

The latest statistics abroad show that Great Britain maintains 1,053 airplanes in commission; Japan, 1,300; Italy, 1,500; and France, 5,542, reserves included.

"And now," remarks the *Herald Tribune* (New York), "the United States intends to take the lead in flying."

In *Foreign Affairs* (New York), the quarterly issued by the Council on Foreign

Relations, Edward P. Warner, recently appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Aviation, says:

The late European war offered but a foretaste of what may come when things that were the imaginings of fictionists a decade and a half ago are realized in grim truth and great forces soar aloft to batter each other in the skies, raining death and destruction on the earth below. The picture is not one to contemplate with calmness. Some seek to develop defense against aircraft, others seek defense against war.

Without conscious desire in any quarter, he continues, simply as a result of the universal wish for security, the world is in danger of drifting into a race of aerial armaments paralleling naval competition of the past. And this tendency is by no means easy to control. Neither at Washington nor at Geneva has a satisfactory basis of procedure been found. Governments will agree to limit, or to prohibit the use of aircraft—or poison gases—in warfare, but they will not agree to give up “a sufficient defense force,” nor the study of their use and production in case of emergency. In the case of aircraft particularly, the problem is made more difficult by the important place it has come to fill in the peacetime community. Yet the limitation of preparation for aerial warfare is an essential step in the elimination of the mutual fear between nations which leads inevitably to war.

The accomplishment of such limitation is extraordinarily difficult, however. Far more so than the limitation of naval armament, for airplanes can be built in any number of workshops, the various parts, once designed and tested, being produced

with the standardization and almost the numbers of Ford parts. “A skillful distribution of orders would make it possible to build five thousand machines in a couple of years without permitting the most observant and energetic of aliens to detect a ripple on the surface.” Moreover, although the building of a battleship takes many months, a couple will suffice for the designing and building of an airplane, and it can be duplicated by hundreds in the next half-year. In addition, the equipment of an air force may be built up under the guise of commercial activity.

Limitation in size or in armament is insufficient. Something could be done, however, Mr. Warner believes, with performance specifications. Limitation in speed would not interfere with commercial efficiency, as 130 miles per hour would suffice for all commercial ventures, and 150 miles per hour is necessary for all but the heaviest bombing planes, which could be otherwise restricted. Limitation of subsidies would prevent the development of military planes under the guise of commercial enterprise. The number of military pilots trained each year could be restricted.

Yet just these methods of restriction which would be most effective are those which the nations, distrusting one another, and knowing evasion to be so easy, hesitate to adopt. Mr. Warner concludes:

The outlook for effective limitation is far from bright, but a conference called at a favorable season and after due preparation of the path should lead at least to a temporary readjustment and to a partial clearing up of such veiled threats as some states now see in the maintenance by others of air power which may actually be for colonial or other kindred service.

Mussolini as Prophet of the Pragmatic Era

A SEARCHING review of the Fascist régime in Italy is contributed to the *Political Science Quarterly* (New York) by W. Y. Elliott of Harvard. To those apologists for the Mussolini dictatorship who point to Italy's prosperity and urge the necessity of fitting the government to the psychology of the governed, Mr. Elliott replies that while it is obvious that Italy will have to work out her own salvation, the destiny of a government in these days is affected by world opinions. Other countries where democratic and representative

government had won ground, are interested in Italy's destiny.

In its imperialistic program and in its avowed disbelief in the settlement of international disputes through any possible machinery of international justice, Fascism has international implications. It represents a complete denial of the existence as well as of the availability of any principles of morality applicable to the conduct of states—except the law of the survival of the fittest.

The pragmatic desire for progress that is impatient with representative government in any form, that demands facts, not theories, and action, not programs, is quite as lopsided a view of politics as its intellectualistic antithesis.

To the question whether Fascism has really proved workable, Mr. Elliott replies that for the moment it undoubtedly has done so.

By creating a myth of patriotism and embodying that myth in the figure of Mussolini, Fascism may succeed for a time in imposing what Plato would have called "a noble lie" upon Italy. But the actual operation of a dictatorship can be tested only when the Italian peasant and worker have had a little longer to gauge the real nature of "grandeur that was Rome." Even if the worker bears his load philosophically, the test of the dictatorship

can hardly be said to have been made. It will come when Mussolini, a tragic and not a comic Pooh-Bah, has to lay down the burden of his ministries, of his imperialism, and of his dictatorship. The claim of the supporters of Fascism is that the "Party" will prove to be self-perpetuating in the same way that Bolshevism has done in Russia. Perhaps that may be possible, although the state of political development in the two countries is very different, and even Bolshevism has not held power long enough as yet for a test. Or the test will come earlier, when the imperative need of the imperial, the operative gesture which Fascism demands, can not be met except by war.

The Eisteddfod and the Bards of Wales

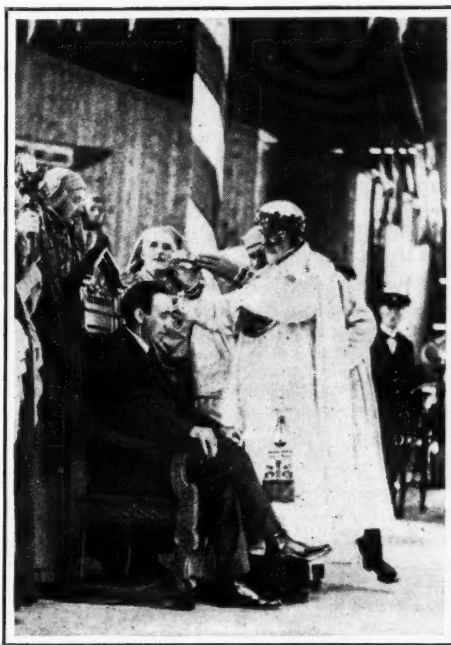
IN SEVERAL of our States where people of Welsh descent are numerous, the old-country custom of holding music festivals and contests has been retained and the Eisteddfod is a yearly event of great importance. We are indebted to a writer in the *Landmark*, the monthly magazine of the English-Speaking Union, for a brief account of the great festival in old Wales, known as the National Welsh Eisteddfod. This is a musical festival, it is true, but in its origin and history there were other features that are imperfectly understood to-day except by the Welsh themselves.

Actually an Eisteddfod (which is derived from the Welsh "eistedd"—to sit) is an assembly of Welsh bards at which "poets and minstrels contend for prizes after the manner of the ancient Greeks." But the Gorsedd, out of which emerged the Eisteddfod, dates away back to the time of Pryddan, son of Eidd the Great, who lived centuries before the Christian Era. With the fall of the Druids the Gorsedd lost much of its prestige, although the bards still remained important people and their position was determined by the old laws of Hywel Dda. And we learn from records that "the domestic bard shall receive of the family the best out of every spoil in which he shall be present, and a man's share like every other domestic. If there should be fighting the bard shall sing *The Monarchy of Britain* in front of battle. His lands shall be free and he shall have a horse in attendance from the king. He shall be next but one to the patron of the family."

So for centuries, as this writer points out, the people of Wales got the news from bards who traveled about the country singing of princely conquests and fortunes of war to the many occupants of castles and strongholds. From time to time these bards came together and matched their skill against others and from these assemblies and contests came the Eisteddfod of to-day. The contests in Wales have come not only to embrace music but litera-

ture, art and architecture and handicrafts.

The Eisteddfod of the present year takes place at Swansea in the first week of August. Among the judges for the music section will be Dr. Granville Bantock and Mr. Eugene Goossens, while Augustus John and George Clausen are to be judges for the fine arts. On the last day of the festival the impressive ceremony of chairing the Bard will take place. It is predicted that the Eisteddfod will endow Swansea, as it endows all towns in which it is held, with "an air of startling vitality."



"CROWNING THE BARD" AT THE EISTEDDFOD

Colonization in Greenland

ALTHOUGH man, of all the vertebrates, adapts himself most readily to greatly differing latitudes, it is not often that he seeks a home under polar skies on a rocky neck of land surrounded by frozen sea, unless he is led there by rich mineral resources or other promise of great wealth. Yet the colony described by M. Camille Vallaux in the *Mercure de France* (Paris) for June 15 can hope to make only a meager livelihood by hunting and fishing, and by farming during the short summer of the far North.

The colony is on the east coast of Greenland, at a latitude of seventy degrees, and the settlers are Eskimos from more southerly sections, under Danish leadership. Eskimos subsist farther north on the other side of the world, but since the early nineteenth century there have been no human beings on the east coast of Greenland, excepting these at Angmagsalik from whence the new colony has migrated.

Our information about the Greenland Eskimo is largely gleaned from explorers who have visited the numerous settlements on the opposite coast. The first of these was established by Eric the Red, exiled from Iceland in 983, who found what appeared to him to be a verdant harbor on the western coast of Greenland and settled there. For four hundred years his colony flourished, making a slim livelihood by grazing, fishing in fjords and whaling, coming in contact but little with the Eskimos who kept to the more open shore, hunting the seal, the walrus, and sea-birds. Soon after the last of the colonists from Iceland had left, whalers from England and Holland and Denmark sought the post they vacated, fishing and trading with the Eskimos. With them came tobacco and whisky, with its usual demoralizing effects on the native population.

The first helpful impress of civilization was the christianizing efforts of the Danish Pastor Egede and his Moravian Brothers, begun in 1712. Since the establishment of a Danish trade monopoly, settlement has gone on apace, although trade has been, perhaps, less active than with the open market. There are now some sixty-two well-established groups, numbering in all 15,000 persons. Each group has its doctor, its priest, its teacher, and some sort of general store.

All these, however, are on the west coast. In 1924 Denmark's monopoly on the east coast was questioned by Norway, and although the east coast was opened for private enterprise as a result, Denmark planned to keep the major hold by the establishment of a permanent colony there. The coast, it must be remembered, is almost inaccessible even to explorers. One of these, however, Ejnar Mikkelsen, has conceived and established the new colony which the government wished to see.

All the little settlements of more or less nomad Eskimos on the east coast were wiped out long ago by an unknown scourge, M. Vallaux tells us, excepting only one at Angmagsalik. Returning explorers have told of the tragic sights they have seen—of whole hamlets all of whose inhabitants were found lying around dead and mummified by the intense cold.

By what means Mikkelsen planned to persuade the Eskimos of Angmagsalik to accompany him to the new settlement at Scoresby Sound is not detailed, but in July, 1924, he and twenty-two companions set forth from Copenhagen with supplies for the colonists he was about to transplant sufficient to last three or four years. At the foot of Rosenwing Bay in Scoresby Sound he landed, claiming the ground for his country, and laying the plans of the settlement around the house he then built to serve as governor's mansion.

He left six men over the winter, spring and summer carrying on the necessary building, making other preparations, and studying the country. In September, Mikkelsen returned with ninety Eskimo colonists from Angmagsalik who took up their abode in the newly constructed houses under the newly installed Danish governor, Johan Petersen.

The settlers were delighted to find here all which they could conceive necessary for perfect comfort, and to discover ample game and fish in the surrounding country. They fell to work immediately. When the Danish colonizers left in summer the transplanted families were as much at home as if they had been born there, and there seemed to be no question but what the Eskimos would become accustomed to the more severe climate. Such is the beginning of a new colony in the far North.



© Acme

THE 1926 AMERICAN WALKER CUP TEAM

(Taken just before their victory at Muirfield, Scotland. Back row, left to right: Robert Gardner (Captain), George von Elm and Jesse Guilford. Front row, left to right: Bobby Jones, Roland Mackenzie, Jesse Sweetser, Francis Ouimet and G. Watts Gunn)

An American Year in British Golf

THE struggle for golf supremacy between Britain and the United States has reached a climax. The British amateur and open titles, so long secure from foreign assault, have both fallen to Americans, and the American Walker Cup team won over its rivals by $6\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$.

The British Amateur Championship had been impervious to American attacks for twenty-two years, except for the victory of Walter Travis, that rare champion who began golfing at the age of forty-five, and who once achieved the crown. Squadrons of the finest amateurs in America have invaded Britain, only to fall one by one to the sturdy native defenders. Finally, on May 29 of this year at Muirfield Jesse W. Sweetser, former American Intercollegiate and Amateur Champion, defeated Alexander Simpson, a young Scot, 6 and 5 in the final match. Sweetser's victory is especially impressive considering his physical condition. (He went directly from the play to the hospital.) To quote Mr. Grantland Rice writing at the time

When the championship started he was in poor

physical condition with a touch of flu and an injured knee, where it was even doubtful that he could play.

To pile on the agony he suffered a sprained wrist in the semi-final test and yet all this was not enough to check his advance, his hardy match-play spirit rising above all obstacles to carry him through.

His victory was due largely, according to Mr. Bernard Darwin, leading English golf authority, writing in the *American Golfer* (New York) for July, to his long, high iron shots to the green:

When once he had his iron in his hand the ball was as good as on the green; and not on the edges of the green, but right bang in the middle of it, with a chance of holing it in one putt. Never by professional or amateur have I seen that long, high iron shot better played.

The next event to fall to America was the Walker Cup Competition. Mr. Innis Brown summarizes the history of this competition, started in 1922 at the National Links of America at Southampton, Long Island. They consist of singles' matches and two ball (Scotch) foursomes between selected teams of English and American amateurs. The first meeting in 1922 was won by the United States, 8 to 4, and the

second at St. Andrew's, Scotland, was saved from a draw by the gallant victory of an Oregon dentist, O. F. Willing. At Garden City, Long Island, in 1924 the Americans won by 9 to 3, and this year at St. Andrew's the American team composed of R. T. Jones, Jesse Sweetser, Francis Ouimet, George von Elm, Jesse Guilford, G. Watts Gunn, Roland Mackenzie, and Robert Gardner (Captain) again defeated the British. The Walker Cup score, therefore, now stands at 29 to 17.

The apogee of America's ascendancy was reached in the Open Championship (for amateurs and professionals) on June 26. Bobby Jones, the brilliant Atlanta amateur, called by Mr. Darwin "the world's best golfer" won with the low score of 291 strokes, Al Watrous, American professional, taking second place with 293, and Walter Hagen and George von Elm tying for third with 295.

The sting of having four Americans before a single Englishman was somewhat removed by the popularity of Jones' victory. Mr. Darwin writes in the New York *Herald-Tribune* for June 26:

Before the championship many British golfers wanted Bobby to win. When their own players were down and out, then I don't believe there was a man, woman, or child who didn't hope he would win.

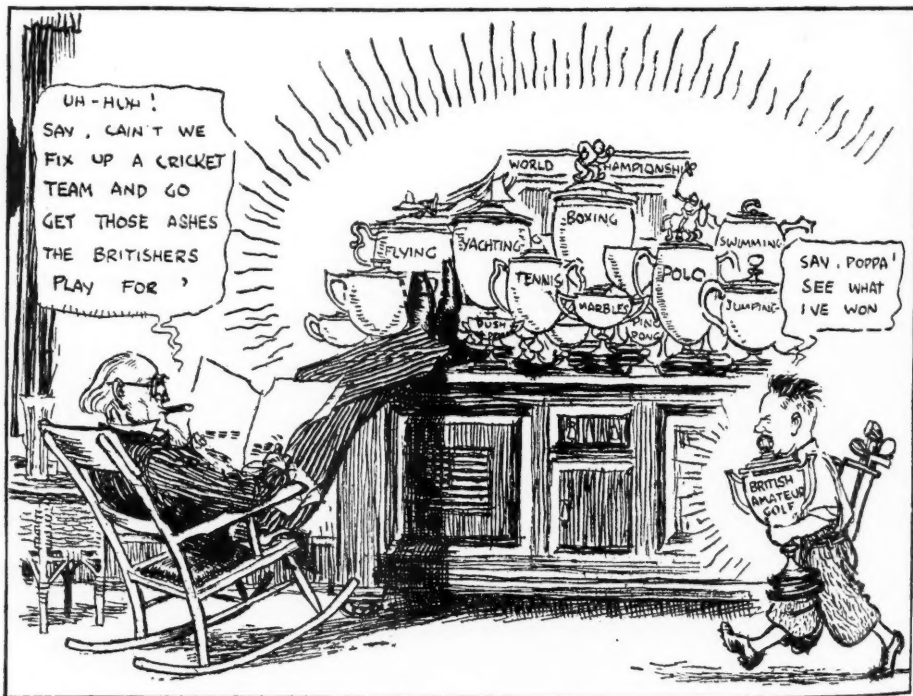
And in concluding he says:

So Bobby Jones is champion. We have no more worthy champion and we could have no more popular one.

The English attribute the American success to a sounder style of play. Mr. Darwin, himself a former captain of the English Walker Cup team, says in the *American Golfer*:

America has won the Walker Cup match yet again, this time by six matches to five on the two days' play, with one match halved, yet Great Britain played up so well in the last stages that, though the result was disappointing, it was not depressing. There is no doubt that the right side won. It was a victory for a younger, stronger, fitter side, and especially a victory for a sounder method of playing golf.

Nobody who has watched the Americans during the last ten days can doubt that they have been better drilled and have a surer and a better way of hitting the ball. There is a remarkable uniformity of style among them, and that style is one that stands by the player through good days and evil ones, and makes for that greatest of all golfing virtues—namely, consistency.



HIS COLLECTION NEARLY COMPLETE

From the *Western Mail* (Cardiff)

Thus the old order of golf supremacy has changed. English and Scottish names, such as Braid, Vardon, Ray, Duncan and Mitchell have been replaced in the professional field by Americans such as Hagen, Barnes, Farrell, and Hutchinson. The

long line of fine British amateurs, to whom the game owes so much, with stars such as Hilton, Tait, Ball, Tolley, Wethered, and Holderness has given over to the youngsters from the New World, led by Jones and Sweetser.

Great Britain and America Exchange Compliments

THE Sesqui-centennial celebration of American independence has been the happy occasion for several most interesting expressions of opinion, not the least of these being an article by a leading London journalist and man of affairs, and a speech made in London by the President of Columbia University, New York,—both widely reproduced throughout this country.

Mr. J. L. Garvin, editor and proprietor of the London *Observer*, writes at length of America's accomplishment in the past 150 years. The Sesqui-centennial marks a great day for England, as well as America, for the Declaration of Independence which called the United States into being reacted on Europe to "open a whole modern epoch of revolutions up to the climax of the great war." Nicholas Murray Butler, speaking on July fourth before the guests at the Independence Day banquet of the American Society in London, pointed out that the Declaration was as great a step in the development of the English-speaking race as the Magna Carta. "Without the American Declaration of Independence, the British Commonwealth of Nations would not have been possible," he said:

Its (The Declaration of Independence's) text may relate to happenings and abuses that are long since forgotten, but its spirit is the spirit that has guided the long, slow history of man's struggle for civil and political liberty, which struggle has covered this island with battlefields of arms and of debate.

He continues:

The Declaration is a monument along the high-road of liberty. It marks the distance that had already been passed, and it points to the progress that is yet to come. No loyal Englishman of this day and generation need look upon that Declaration and what followed from it with anything but satisfaction, for it records in stately fashion a great accomplishment by English tradition, English conviction and English ideals. Moreover, it did more than perhaps any other one act could have done to teach the lessons of liberty, as Anglo-Saxons

understand it, to those of other lands and other speech.

Mr. Garvin echoes this by saying that, great as America is within herself to-day, the fullest possibilities of her future development lies in carrying on the "world-wide influence of the English-speaking idea."

America, says Mr. Garvin, has achieved unguessed-at heights of prosperity. In population, in untouched resources, in wealth, in mechanical equipment, impregnable and invulnerable to attack, politically and social secure, in education, architecture, and the other arts, the country has forged ahead beyond all other countries of the world. Mr. Garvin speaks at some length of the lesson England can learn from America's "constructive industrial revolution." Increasing partnership between capital and labor is resulting in higher output and higher wages, in increased self-respect and content.

In all circumstances we must put first our relations of kinship and friendship with the United States. That is the desire of our hearts, but it is also the essence of right judgment. To that cause, even our membership in the League of Nations, while America remains out of it, always must be subordinate. . . . We are the only European race which cannot be merely European while we keep our present place in the world.

All civilization, Dr. Butler reminds us, hangs upon good-will between men. The practical union of American and British economic interests would secure for both unlimited advantages, and would be the natural outcome of the tendencies of two people who have similar ideals and whose pasts are closely linked.

For the other side, Dr. Butler says of the achievement of Great Britain:

To-day the British Commonwealth of Nations is truly the greatest power that exists in the world for peace, for good-will and for strengthening the higher and larger associations of man. It speaks almost every known language and it translates

into these languages but one set of principles of law and justice. It touches every conceivable economic, industrial and political interest, and after making all allowance for the shortcomings of human beings, touches them with a hand that has almost uniformly brought blessing and confidence.

The task of the United States is to demonstrate whether its organization can serve the purposes of humanity as well as the Commonwealth has done.

On an entirely different note is a cheerful article in the June *Scribner's* (New York) by an Englishman who interprets us to ourselves as addicted to "spacious leisureliness" in speech and travel; we "hustling moderns," as we like to think ourselves, are not even modern, but cling to tradi-

tions of speech and manners long since defunct in the Old World. Even our income tax is levied at a rate now only a golden memory of the past to Europe. Further:

A popular delusion about America which takes an unconscionable time a-dying is the belief that it is a democratic country, where all are equal. It is true that there are no hereditary titles, but there is still hereditary wealth, which is an even more powerful creator of a privileged caste. . . . In any case a natural deficiency of titles is amply compensated by the vast number of societies which confer the most impossible and high-sounding ranks upon their members. . . . Who would be a mere Sir or Lord when he might be a Most Worshipful Moose, or a Grand Double Eagle with crossed swords? These titles may not actually exist, but they convey the general idea.

Abraham Lincoln as a Lawyer

IN a paper read before the Kansas State Bar Association in 1897, but not hitherto given general circulation, Judge A. Bergen gives an account of Abraham Lincoln as he knew him and worked with him in the courtroom. There is much in Judge Bergen's paper, published in the *American Bar Association Journal* (Chicago) for June, that is of interest, even for those who are familiar, as are most Americans, with the public life of the great central figure in American history.

While waiting for a case to be called, Judge Bergen says Lincoln once sat for two hours—

With his head thrown back, his steady gaze apparently fixed on one spot of the blank ceiling, without the least change in the direction of his dull expressionless eyes, and without noticing anything transpiring around him and without any variation of feature. I suppose he was thinking of his coming case. Herndon says he was capable of longer continued, concentrated, vigorous thought upon one subject than any other man. His expression was of the deepest melancholy. . . .

But whenever he began to talk his eyes flashed and every facial movement helped express his idea and feeling. . . .

To the judges and lawyers who were associated with him in his more than twenty years of practicing, his most noticeable characteristics were an extraordinary faculty for correct reasoning, logic, and analysis, his clear, full, orderly stating of the case—"so fair and so perspicuous that it was often said that after Lincoln had made his statement there was but little occasion for argument on either side."

He was almost infallible in detecting falsehood in fact, defective logic, or fallacious argument in his opponent. He thought much, but read comparatively little other than standard books of reference on the law. He cited few authorities, as a rule, depending rather upon his deep knowledge of legal principles and their application to fact. Judges who knew him in the courts were far more apt to decide the case upon its merits as propounded by Lincoln than upon doubtful precedent painfully established from other cases by the opposing lawyer.

By some habitual litigants and the like, Lincoln was referred to as a third-rate lawyer: he could not make black look white. If he was led into taking a client, of the justness of whose cause he was not convinced he appeared weak, spiritless and destitute of resources.

If he was satisfied that his client was in the right, he had buoyant, dominant courage, an irresistible manner, unflinching tact and—as Judge Bergen clearly demonstrates by several anecdotes—he had a true sense of the dramatic, with a telling card always up his sleeve.

William H. Herndon, who was associated with Lincoln, following Lincoln's partnership with Judge Logan, in his biography stresses nothing so much as Lincoln's love of truth: "To him it was reason's food." He was an "honest lawyer."

It is quite easy to believe that if Lincoln had not been a good lawyer he would not have attained political leadership.

The Health Organizations of the League of Nations

"THERE is perhaps no single field of human effort in which international coöperation is more essential than in that which relates to the campaign against disease," writes Dr. C.-E. A. Winslow, in *Hygeia* (Chicago). "Three times in history bubonic plague has spread from endemic foci in Asia to carry death and destruction to every corner of the known world. A dozen times epidemic influenza has swept like wildfire from continent to continent. Hundreds of times has yellow fever passed silently northward from Central America to strike down its victims in the United States."

This situation has long been realized, and international congresses and conferences on various subjects pertaining to health have been held at more or less irregular intervals for a great many years. These conferences eventually gave rise to two well-known international health bureaus, viz., the Office International d'Hygiène Publique, in Paris, and the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau of the American republics. A third international health organization, that of the League of Nations, is of more recent origin, and its work is just now coming into prominence.

Dr. Winslow has been actively connected with the new health agency and gives us an interesting review of its activities up to date. Provision for international health work was made in the Covenant of the League of Nations, and one of the first undertakings upon which the League embarked was the creation of a temporary commission to deal with the epidemic of typhus in eastern Europe in 1920 and 1921. This work was carried out with great success. In December, 1920, the League authorized the establishment of a permanent health organization as a part of the machinery of its secretariat. According to the plan then adopted, the Office International, in Paris, which we have mentioned above, was to become the advisory council of the League on health matters and was to designate half the members of the Permanent Health Committee, which the League proposed to establish as the principal working body of the new organization. This plan encountered a serious difficulty at the outset.

The Office International, organized in 1907 under an agreement known as the Convention of Rome, is supported by the signatories to that convention, one of which is the United States. Dr. Winslow, who attended (as representative of the League of Red Cross Societies) a meeting held in Paris on May 5, 1921, for the purpose of organizing the Permanent Health Committee, tells of the "bombshell" hurled into the meeting:

This was the period when the United States was not only outside the League but actively hostile to it, and when our State department refused even to answer communications from Geneva. In this spirit our Government had given notice that it disapproved (as a signatory to the Convention of Rome) of any coöperation between the Office and the League. Therefore the Office had been forced to abandon its nomination of members of the health committee.

However, at last in a second informal meeting, May 6, we succeeded in getting those present to unite in a recommendation to the League that, in face of the urgent need, at least a provisional health committee and a health secretariat should be established, Office or no Office, United States or no United States.

As a result of this action the council of the League, June 22, 1921, authorized the creation of a provisional health committee, which held its first meeting August 25, and organized by the election of Dr. Thorvald Madsen of Denmark as chairman.

After a four-day session it was determined to carry out the whole project as originally outlined, by unofficial agreement, pending a time when the United States should assume a different attitude. That time happily came, October, 1923, when the Office was permitted to ratify the agreement with the League exactly as projected nearly four years before. Furthermore, the United States has now two representatives on the League's health committee, Surgeon-Gen. H. S. Cumming of the U. S. Public Health Service and Dr. Alice Hamilton of the Harvard Medical School.

The health organization of the League consists then, at present, of three distinct parts: the advisory council, the health committee and the health section of the secretariat. The advisory council is the committee of the Office International at Paris. The health committee of the League, which acts as the counselor of the League on all health matters and directs the work of the health section, is composed of from sixteen to twenty members, ten nominated by the Office and from six to ten by the League. Finally, the health section is an integral part of the permanent secretariat of the League operating under the supervision of a director, Dr. Ludwik Rajchman of Poland.

The new organization now maintains an efficient epidemiologic intelligence service.

Vital statistics from nearly the whole of the civilized world are received at Geneva, where they are promptly printed and distributed each month. Thus there is available, for the first time, a picture of the world prevalence of communicable and other diseases, valuable alike to the health administrator and the student of preventive medicine. A branch office of this service has been established at Singapore to deal with the specially pressing problems of the Far East. Other lines of work include measures of epidemic control and the standardization of certain laboratory products and procedures. Lastly,

In still another direction the health organization of the League has paved the way for better co-

ordination of the world public-health campaign, through its provision for the so-called interchange of sanitary personnel. Uniform statistics and standardized procedures are important, but even more vital perhaps is the mutual understanding and helpfulness that comes from the personal contact of the health workers of different countries.

In the autumn of 1922, twenty-three sanitary officials from eight different countries were given an opportunity to study health organization in Belgium and Italy; in 1923, twenty-nine officials from seventeen countries visited Austria and England for the same purpose; and in the autumn of 1923, twenty-four officials from eighteen countries were brought by the League to the United States (on the invitation of Surgeon-General Cumming) to spend ten weeks in the study of various aspects of health work in this country. In 1924, there were four more such general interchanges provided in Great Britain, Holland, Denmark and Switzerland, respectively.

The Association of the Young Catholics of France

THE association popularly known as the "Young Catholics" is extending an ever-widening influence over the French nation and its colonies. In the *Correspondent* (Paris) for April 10 M. Charles Flory gives a rather full account of the origin, history, aims and aspirations of this group. At present, some 100,000 young people in eighty-four different dioceses of France are active members, with the result that they are being brought into direct contact with their priests in small groups, with the broad purpose of awakening religious interest and spreading education in religious and social matters.

The association has grown out of the teachings and the example of Albert de Mun and his followers, who interpreted the defeat of 1870 as the result of the spiritual disorders of the realm. Albert de Mun pointed out the part which Christianity should—and did not—play in the social, economic, and political life of the nation, and advocated immediate reform of the existing social order by an awakening of the spiritual force of the people. He formed a Society of Catholic Workers, and by his ardent propaganda spread his idea of a "counter-revolution" through religion against the antagonistic forces in society. He directed his prayers to young people, saying that in their hands lay the salvation of France.

In 1886 he wrote to a young disciple:

"You have sworn to consecrate all your forces to prepare, by studying, by working, by personal devotion, for the establishment of a Christian social order." The awakening of the soul was to serve to re-awaken the nation, by a gradual transformation in customs, laws and institutions until they should be those fitted to a nation of Christians. The changes, needless to say, could not be brought about by laws made from without, but had to grow gradually from a new spiritual attitude of the race.

The first practical objective of the association is the improvement of social conditions, and the spreading of education. It is not hoped that this can be done in one generation, or two, says M. Flory, but the young people work toward this end as if it might come about within their time. Propaganda among the industrial classes is being ardently carried on, for it is here, M. Flory suggests, that dechristianizing influences are most actively at work. Many hundreds of members are recruited from these circles yearly.

However, without doubt the chief pre-occupation of the society is with the religious life of its members, says M. Flory. During the profound religious revival following the war, in the short space of eighteen months, almost 42,000 young people entered the priesthood, nursing, or some other form of organized and socially serviceable religious life. A corresponding develop-

ment in habits of community worship also took place.

The *Association des Étudiants* within the larger group is particularly interesting. With the purpose of developing ability to think and knowledge of present-day problems, initiative, and character, discussion groups and study groups are organized—usually under the guidance of some older person of the priesthood or laity. Constant exchange of ideas and work between the groups is facilitated by the twenty-four reviews and journals published under the auspices of the Association. This part of the work is particularly stressed, as collaboration is the keynote of the ideals of the society.

M. Flory cites several examples of the actual work which the Association has done to realize its aims. On many occasions their propaganda in the form of pamphlets, posters, and speakers have flooded the whole country in some particular effort, and their campaigns have been almost uni-

versally successful. The work of the young people has found constant support from Catholics of all ages.

The social evils which the Association has to work against are rather sharply defined by M. Flory, as are the methods which are at the power of the Association to command. He concludes:

In the incoherence of ideas and the confusion of efforts which unfortunately characterizes our times, the Association of the Young Catholics of France is attempting to realize clarity and unity of purpose. So pressing are the reforms to be promoted that it seems less important to them that the coming generation should enter into political warfares than that they should work for internal reform. . . .

The work will be long in completion . . . and has been greatly delayed by the war which claimed the sacrifice of the first generation of young people grown up under the new teachings. The present finds a solidly founded organization, and a strong confidence in its methods, which have in part proved their efficacy.

However much of their vast ambitions are realized, they will always have the merit of having at least uplifted the spiritual life of the youth of France, an effort which has a value and usefulness not to be questioned. . . .

What to Do About Loyal Alumni?

THE story goes that several college presidents were discussing what they would do after they retired. What would they be fit for, was the question.

Well, said one of them, "I don't know that I'd be fit for anything, but I know what I'd like to do. I'd like to be superintendent of an orphan asylum so that I would never get any letters from parents."

"I've a much better ambition, exclaimed another. I want to be warden of a penitentiary. The alumni never come back to visit."

Percy Marks is the raconteur of this tale in the July *Harper's*, writing on "The Pestiferous Alumni." Heaven itself, according to Mr. Marks, will hold no charms for college presidents if they find that the archangels are merely graduates of the Seraphic College.

The reason that presidents of universities do not more often express their dissatisfaction with the alumni is that one does not publicly rebuke one's employer, and too often the alumni are truly that.

"In discussing the alumni, I do not feel any need for caution," says Mr. Marks; "it is impossible to overstate their follies; it is impossible to be unfair to them con-

sidered in the mass . . . they are the bane of the American college."

They are often liberal donators, but in return they demand ever greater influence. "A really clever president can get money for professors' salaries and libraries," but in return comes the loud cry to spend half of undergraduate time in athletics, one-quarter in a good, common-sense training in "real practical business" and the last quarter acquiring pep and personality. Allowing for a super-stratum of intelligent graduates, the college must begin to teach the alumni the meaning of education, if they themselves are to survive.

Writing in the *Independent* (Boston) for June 19, Dean Walter Agard of St. John's College, Annapolis, proposes that every college alumnus receive his degree for ten-year periods, and stand examination for renewal. Dean Agard says he is not very serious about his proposal, but he would like to show how logical the reasons for such a policy would be, and how beneficial the results.

Both of these hearty condemners of the false relationship which exists between Alma Mater and most of her sons mention various ways out. The path being followed or blazed—by President Hopkins of Dart-

mouth, who attempts to inspire interest in the intellectual life of the college in all his contacts with the Alumni and to help them in every way to continue their own education, is very like the one Dean Agard suggests. Another is personal contact

between teachers and alumni, the second is the movement only just begun, of organized post-graduate individual study,—a new branch of adult education, and a much needed one according to these two commentators.

The College of France

THAT which is a most essential characteristic of the College of France, distinguishing it from the other universities of France, is that it is above all things an establishment for free and disinterested research. The outstanding particular of its organization, says the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Paris) is that it is not obliged to hold to any fixed program. Since no grades nor diplomas are required of the candidates for the professorial chairs, the directors may welcome all sorts of profitable new ideas and men who show true and original initiative. As a matter of fact most of the learned men who enter the college carry well-established renown, founded upon noteworthy services, often discoveries. The principle which more and more prevails among them is that the teaching at the College should have as object the communication of the results of these personal researches to auditors sufficiently prepared to benefit from them.

Thus, as in a few of our own universities, teaching is becoming less and less the

principal task and end in itself, but is subordinated to research, upon which the progress of science depends.

As is usually the case, the conditions of material organization are far from perfectly established to further the already defined purpose of the college. The laboratories and libraries above all are hampered by a lack of funds, which State aid alone can not ameliorate. Individual donors, and particularly the great industries whose prosperity is so closely associated with the discoveries of science, contribute principally to its support, although to remain faithful to the spirit of the institution the research work done is not directed along any specified channels, but purely for the advance of science.

Working in this way, magnificent developments, says the *Revue*, have resulted from the germs of liberty which were planted four hundred years ago by Francis I., when he stated the primary principles of the institution now the College of France.

A New Socialism in Sweden

WITH the coming of the present generation, Sweden has seen the rapid growth of a federation of young socialist-democrat workers with far different and far more helpful ideals than the socialists of the past generation. The *Revue Bleue* (Paris) translates for its readers an instructive little article by Ivan Oljelund. M. Oljelund tells us that the origin of the new attitude was the result of reaction from the severity of anti-social, revolutionary principles, drawn up for a very different set of workers than the generation in Sweden today.

In spite of strong Moscow influences, the new group represents by far the most powerful organization intellectually and

materially devoted to the interests of young Swedish workers. They have resolutely dismissed all ideas of overturning society. The prefix "anti-" and the characteristic cry "à bas!" have practically disappeared. The new socialists are distinguished by their well-developed sense of reality and their interest in actual truths. They are working for concrete results: for better practical opportunities for workers, reforms in the body politic, and the like. Society to them is a living organization, a part of human life from historic times, rather than, as with the older socialists, an out-worn custom. They have discovered that they are integral members of their own country, and claim it proudly as their own.

Working on the basis of facts, and logically, the modern group does not give unquestioning homage to the teachings of the past, but relates the principles to modern life, and discards those which are no longer important or appropriate. Nils Karleby, whose brilliant mind until his death recently was the guiding spirit in the new organization, has summed up the situation as follows:

The greater part of the woras of the socialistic order come from a far distant time, from the days of the infancy of the working-class. They set forth the claims and concepts of the masses without a place in official society. Socialist thinkers have since added to these plaints a statement of prin-

ciples after which a socialistic program has been drawn up. But the concepts which might content an isolated class of working-people no longer can suffice for a class directly and actively associated with social works; this latter must consider situations, the problems and solutions of which the earlier group could not even suspect.

Although its destructionist policy is gone, and its attention has been turned to the home, that families may be kept together, and may dwell in peace and harmony, the political idealism of the socialist is none the less high and fine, and the battle still wages against the "haggings, the shameful traffic, the deceptions and the calculations" of political life.

Psychology of the Workshop

SINCE the days when the first crude "efficiency experts" devised ways of speeding up industries and reducing the industrial worker's part in mass production to the monotonous and degrading repetition of simple actions, or the tending of highly specialized machines, a new kind of "efficiency expert," trained in physiology and psychology as well as in industrial engineering, has sprung into being, and is beginning to prove to practical business men that there is "more than an emotional, sentimental case" against an efficiency which does not take into account human nature.

In the *Nineteenth Century* (London) for June, Mr. R. M. Fox presents an analysis of the situation for the soundness of which its publication in the *Nineteenth Century* may vouch. A system where men are made to work at high tension to maintain a standard of mechanical efficiency at monotonous tasks, is bound to fail. A machine needs humoring; how much more so a man. If the atmosphere and the attitude of a factory is right, even as a majority of men are honest and generous-minded, the standard of workmanship and production voluntarily set will be found to be, in the long run, more satisfactory than the pressure system described above.

Mr. Fox enumerates the workshop troubles which most directly act to prevent factory conditions which would stimulate good work. Monotony, drabness, overstrain, ugliness, lack of interest, routine are the principals. The strike is often entered into with enthusiasm largely be-

cause it provides excitement, change; it is the natural reaction from staleness with its sense of failure, and boredom.

As Dr. Charles S. Myers, director of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, points out in the *Review of Reviews* (London) for June 15th, certain types of men want and enjoy monotonous work. Others turn to it as a relief from strenuous brain work, says Mr. Fox. But none can stand monotonous work speeded up so that it demands constant unflagging attention. The result is always the same: exhaustion and frayed nerves. In order to reconcile themselves to this state of affairs, it seems necessary for the workers to abandon all personality and capacity for development.

Psychologists tell us to fit the right man to the right job. At present, Mr. Fox indicates, there are far more square holes than square pegs, and it seems necessary that industry should change the shape of the jobs rather than the shape of the men. Both Dr. Myers and Mr. Fox look forward to a day when monotonous and degrading work will be done entirely by machines.

Even the worker who does not find his job monotonous needs variety. As the "rest period" has been found to increase efficiency many per cent., so the change from one phase of a job to another, or from one department to another, is of great importance. That this is commercially sound is indicated, says Mr. Fox, by the presence of a Work Change Bureau, functioning in this way, in Henry Ford's factories.

Singing and talking while at work, contrary to the old school of thought, are aids rather than deterrents to efficient production, according to these two authorities.

An element of more practical significance than is at present appreciated is the ugliness which surrounds the worker, developing in him aggressive overassertion and resentment by imposing on him unnecessarily unlovely and degrading conditions of work. The factory or shop need not be ornamental, but it can be dignified, suitable, and cheerful.

Mr. Fox concludes, it is a question of the direction of progress and the purpose of efficiency, when personality is stamped out in the workshop by the fetish of production. While machinery and increasing departmentalism prevent the worker from gaining

satisfaction from his work, it is only common sense to provide what expression for his personality is possible. Under conditions of variety, beauty, improved status in the shop (coöperation between managers and men, etc.), the elements of balance and satisfaction in his work possible to the old craftsman may be reinfused into industry.

Dr. Myers is more optimistic. He sees shorter hours and varied amusements as a compensation for monotony, in part at least, evidently not considering the worker too fatigued to benefit from these, as does Mr. Fox. But his plea for variety, for song and conversation, for men fitted to their work, for greater coöperation and human interest in industry is essentially the same urgent one.

The Motor Bus Versus the Trolley

THE recent subway strike in New York City made more obvious some of the problems of street traffic congestion that have arisen in great cities in late years and especially since the development of the automobile. One of these problems, relating to the proposed substitution of the motor bus for the surface trolley car, was discussed at some length in a statement made by Mr. Gerhard M. Dahl, of the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Corporation, before the New York City Board of Estimate and Apportionment. This statement, it should be said, was prepared before the strike and is based entirely on the statistics relating to the number of passengers carried on the subway and elevated systems and the surface railways of New York during the past year. In that period about 1,681,000,000 passengers were carried in subway and elevated cars and more than 1,035,000,000 in the surface cars. Thus, approximately four of every ten passengers in Greater New York were carried on the surface lines, showing an increase of 11½ per cent. in the public use of surface cars during the last ten-year period, but in that same ten-year period there was an increase of 127 per cent. in subway and elevated facilities, of 621 per cent. in the use of taxicabs, of 631 per cent. in pleasure automobiles, and 381 per cent. in buses and commercial cars.

It appears from Mr. Dahl's statement that the abandonment of trolleys for bus

systems in the country at large has been greatly exaggerated. The official records show that during the past ten years more miles of electric railway track have been constructed than abandoned. There are 2,658 more closed electric railway cars in regular daily use than in 1919. Electric



Ewing Galloway

SCENE ON ONE SIDE OF FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

railways in the last year carried about 16,000,000,000 passengers in the United States. According to the best estimates available as to the number of passengers carried in buses, it was less than one-fifth of that total.

Mr. Dahl is convinced that buses cannot handle mass transportation as quickly, economically or efficiently as electric street-railway cars can handle it. The reason that he gives for this is that about 50 per cent. of the total traffic to be handled in any large city must be carried in approximately four hours of the day, two rush hours in the morning and two rush hours in the evening. The bus system has not succeeded in proving its ability to deal with the rush-hour traffic. Another difficulty under which it labors is its failure to cope with inevitable weather conditions, including slippery pavements and snowstorms.

Turning to the experience of foreign cities, Mr. Dahl finds that at the present time about 55 per cent. of the available traffic in the city of London is carried by 3000 tram cars and about 45 per cent. by 6000 buses. Sir Henry P. Maybury, who was Director-General of Transport in the British Army during the war and is now chairman of the London Traffic Committee created by Parliament, said on a recent visit to New York:

"If the tramways of the London County Council were to cease operating, where would one put the buses that would be needed to carry the 50,000 persons per hour that these tramways transport in the rush hours? Already our streets are crowded to the saturation point. No, the motor bus cannot do the work of the tramways and rail lines. It has its proper place in our system of transport, but the place is not in competition with the rail lines, nor in congested streets. The expense of widening streets and other changes that would be necessary, were all our traffic to be handled by motor buses, would be beyond all reason—absolutely prohibitive."

And yet the streets of London are not obstructed by pleasure automobiles to any such extent as those of New York. In all Great Britain there are 660,734 pleasure automobiles, compared with 363,404 in Greater New York alone, to say nothing of the great numbers constantly coming into the city from other places.

The city of Manchester, England, which owns and operates the electric railway lines within its boundaries, has investigated the comparative utility of the motor bus and tram car and sums up its conclusions as follows:



Ewing Galloway

STREET IN PHILADELPHIA

(Trolley cars and motor vehicles)

"The motor bus cannot be considered either as a practical or financial substitute for the tram car or the passenger transportation of the City (Manchester) and its districts nor the central area only."

In Berlin, Germany, the street railways are operated by a stock company, the shares of which are owned by the city of Berlin. Recently Dr. Giese, Professor of Transportation at the Berlin Technical School, investigated the costs of handling surface-car traffic in Berlin with buses instead of with surface cars. He found that the substitution of buses for electric railway cars in Berlin would require the doubling of the fares of existing street-railway service.

In studying motor-bus experiences in the United States, Mr. Dahl finds that in no city of fifty thousand inhabitants or more has the bus been able to render successfully the service rendered by the surface railway

cars. Attempts have been made in Akron, Des Moines, Bridgeport, Saginaw, and other cities, and in each instance the people have demanded that the trolley service be restored. In Akron, while the attempt was being made to care for local transportation by bus, business dropped off in the retail stores at an alarming rate because women would not go shopping on buses except when absolutely necessary. Shoppers with bundles were given no encouragement in riding in the buses because they took too much room. It was found that bus operation was dangerous on wet and slippery streets. The city officials arranged for the restoration of street-car service.

As to the causes of traffic congestion in the streets Mr. Dahl makes the assertion that five buses are required to handle the same amount of traffic under the same conditions as can be handled by three street cars. The official figures on file with the

Transit Commission for the year 1925, seem to bear out this statement. They show 336,000 passengers per car per year, while the Fifth Avenue Coach Company carried 196,000 passengers per bus per year.

In the concluding part of his statement Mr. Dahl maintains that the substitution of buses for trolley cars mean inevitable increase in congestion in the streets, and he further shows that the chief cause for our present congestion is the parking of private automobiles in the streets. In this connection it is interesting to note that during the recent subway strike in New York one of the emergency measures enforced by the Police Department was the prohibition of parking in the north-and-south thoroughfares of Manhattan during the morning and afternoon rush hours. This prohibition aided so materially in relieving the unusual congestion caused by the strike that it met with general commendation.

Douglas and the Douglas Fir

THE name of a young Scottish naturalist who visited North America a century ago has been perpetuated in the common name of one of the most noble trees to be found on the continent, the Douglas Fir of our northwest coast. Major J. D. Guthrie of the U. S. Forest Service contributes to the *Scientific Monthly* (New York) an account of the pioneer work of Douglas on the Pacific Coast in the years 1825-27. Although the great Douglas Fir forest of that region may be regarded as his monument, his explorations resulted in adding much to the existing knowledge of American plants and trees of various species. Among the pines his name is associated with are sugar, western white, western yellow, and digger, as well as silver firs. The list of plants and shrubs discovered by Douglas runs into the hundreds. Major Guthrie says of his experiences in the Oregon country:

Douglas was a real pioneer. He spent three years in the Pacific Northwest, with the company's expeditions, with Indian guides, and alone, in this wilderness. He endured the severest kind of hardship, going hungry and sleeping cold and wet night after night in order that by depriving himself of cover he might carry paper for pressing his specimens and for keeping his notes. On many of his trips he had a bearskin and a single blanket for a bed, and finally, in the heavy rains, used his precious bearskin to wrap and protect his specimens. He

had fever often when alone out in the trackless Oregon woods, and bled himself to relieve his temperature. He risked his life again and again, by flood and cliff, and with unfriendly Indians of that day.

As to the Douglas Fir itself, it appears



THE GREAT DOUGLAS FIR

that this tree was discovered by Captain Meriwether Lewis on the expedition with Clark, but the tree was not named until the specimens collected by David Douglas

arrived in England. It was first called a pine and then false hemlock. Among the common names that have been applied to it are Oregon Pine, Red Pine and Yellow Fir.

The Preservation of Minnehaha Falls

IN THE center of a beautiful park not far from Minneapolis, thickly wooded for the most part, but with children's playgrounds, lawns, and beautiful driveways for tourists, is the Minnehaha Creek with its falls which are the famous inspiration of Longfellow's poem "Hiawatha."

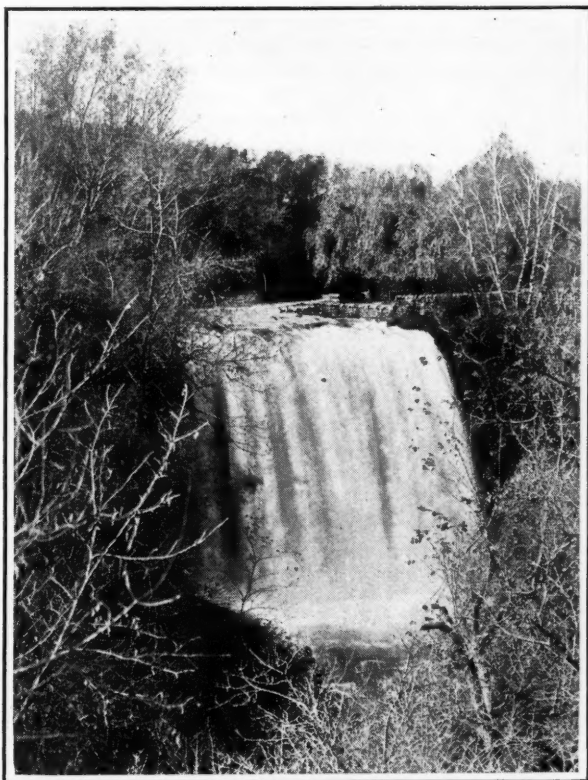
While the wise Park Board of Minneapolis have done much to preserve and develop the beauties of the surrounding park, the creek and falls have come upon evil days. Recent visitors have been distressed to see a mere trickle of water in the center of the wonderful sandstone gorge and over the falls. At times each year the bronze statue of Hiawatha carrying his bride, Laughing Water, across the rapids above the falls stands pathetically by the side of a dry river-bed. The reasons and the remedy for this state of affairs are described in a special article in the *Christian Science Monitor* (Boston), for June 10th, which we quote here.

The creek, along with the Sioux Indians, to whom it once belonged, has suffered from the inroads of civilization. The land surrounding Lake Minnetonka, whose outlet it is, has been built up, destroying the swamps feeding it, and a large sewer system has further cut off the springs flowing into the creek. Gradually the water has become shallower and the cataract a mere trickle. During times of drought the water disappeared entirely.

Minnesota has not been blind to the sad case of this famous stream, and Theodore Wirth, Superintendent of the Minneapolis Park Board, has devised a plan to keep the

water flowing with comparatively small cost to the city by drilling a well in Longfellow Park, adjacent, from which water will be pumped by a thirty horse-power engine into a reservoir that can be drawn upon in times of drought to keep the creek and the falls in their original beautiful state.

It may be of interest to our readers to know the facts recorded in the *Monitor* concerning the origin of Longfellow's poem. Mr. Longfellow first learned of the falls through a daguerreotype made by Alexander Hesler in 1849, and given to the poet by his friend Charles Summer. The picture,



THE FALLS OF MINNEHAHA IN THE SPRING

taken from approximately the same position as the one shown here, inspired Mr. Longfellow to write the poem.

A particularly unusual and lovely feature of the little cataract is the fact that under

the overhanging ledge which is some sixty feet high, over which the water pours, there is a sandy beach where visitors to the falls may walk and watch the prismatic play of light through the sheet of water.

What Farm Women Want

"WHAT the farmer wants" is a subject that stands high on the list of political table-talk just at present, and according to the report of the Farm Women's Convention, recently published by that up-and-coming magazine *The Farmer's Wife* (St. Paul), his wife wants much the same things.

But she wants other things also that her husband does not worry about. These are mainly intellectual and æsthetic, and the moving spirit behind them is the effort to dignify the position of the farm woman, to herself and to the rest of the world, and to uplift the life of the community. Educational advantages are placed paramount, both for their children and for themselves, so that they may be proper companions and tutors for their children, good citizens, and competent business administrators.

Particularly striking, as one reads the report, is the fact that these women, from every section of the country with apparently every variety of social and educational training, all know what they want, and can give intelligent and well-phrased statements of their reasons and beliefs.

The convention, called under the auspices of the Country Life Association and *The Farmer's Wife* Magazine, was to investigate and further the Farm Woman Movement. A group of sixteen women representing all sections of the country, as well as the various types of agriculture and the various points of view of organized agriculture, met at a three-day meeting held in Chicago in March of this year.

The convention opened with the statement that it was the business of farm women to know and to get what they wanted for the advantage of farm people, and for the 16,000,000 farm children of the United States. The first question to come up was the dignity of being a "farm woman." An "inferiority complex" which is disappearing, however, keeps them from a full appreciation of the important work they do and the unusual opportunities their life offers them.

Although opinion was divided about relative importance, a few outstanding needs agreed upon were: Better means of contact in the community and with the outside world; beauty in the farm home; conveniences that will give the housekeeper more free time; representation on State and national committees; community development; health and business education; uniform divorce laws and laws to protect widows and minors.

The conference centered its discussion on four of the fourteen heads drawn up to include all their wants. These were education, appreciations, community development and economics. Education in citizenship and in public health was noted as particularly lacking and primarily important. To the question, What are the things to be appreciated by the farm woman? A few of the replies were:

"Her husband."

"Her neighbors."

"Her opportunities."

"Her children."

"Her chance to live in the country."

"Fresh food."

"Her comparative leisure. She has more time free than the city woman."

The summary of the discussion of economics was as follows:

The farm woman is an economic factor, first in her capacity as director of the family home and second as a partner in farm enterprises. For the development of a full appreciation of this economic value and to train her in business principles, it was the sense of the conference that she should have a bank account, with opinion divided as to whether this should be a joint or an individual account.

In the matter of standards, it was agreed that the standards must be fixed by the farm income but that there are many essentials which must be considered in establishing these standards and which any woman can work out to a greater or less degree. These are health, neatness, beauty, efficiency, simplicity, happiness, companionship, physical comfort, real hospitality and genuineness.

The agencies through which these can be accomplished are first Home Demonstration Agents. Failing this, the publications of various organiza-

tions, desire for which must be disseminated among the farm women by this group and such leaders as they reach and by publicity through various sources. The agencies are:

Coöperative associations.

United States Department of Agriculture or State Schools.

Department stores.

Banks.

Farm organizations.

Farm papers.

League of Women Voters.

General Federation of Women's Clubs.

University Extension Service.

Life Insurance Companies.

An interesting conclusion was the statement:

It is not a distinction between what the farm woman does and what the town woman does. It is a distinction between what some women do and what other women do.

The Page School of International Relations

OUR enterprising friends of the *Inter-collegiate World* (Baltimore) publish the official statement of the Trustees of the Walter Hines Page Fund which is to establish a school at Johns Hopkins University for the study of the prevention of wars. A group of trained scholars will be constantly at work to remove the subject of world affairs from the realm of political speculation and nationalistic bias, and to reduce it to the basis of scientific fact. They will attempt to acquire a precise knowledge of the nature of the economic and social forces and eventually, the causes, that lead to wars.

The present plans for the school, we are told, have reached the last stage before actual organization. Under the direction of a board of Trustees with Owen D. Young at its head, the million dollar endowment necessary to defray the budget has been gathered. The School is to be an independent unit at Johns Hopkins, having recourse to any of the facilities of the University. There will be no more than four professors at first—in International Law, Diplomatic History, International Commercial Policies and International Finance. A limited number of fellows and research assistants will work with them. There have been already more than four hundred applicants for these positions.

Mr. Young has sounded the call for facts about the cause of war which should lead to its abolition as surely as facts about the causes of our diseases have led to their control. Says Mr. Young:

We must create a science to deal with this world malady. We must provide the machinery to isolate the facts about the diseases in the international system by methods as scientific as those employed so successfully in other fields. . . . Our curse is ignorance.

Professor Willoughby, head of the department of political science at Johns Hopkins, has voiced the opinion that the Page School will deal primarily with the underlying or fundamental facts and forces which condition national interests, and therefore determine national policies. . . . This will be the more easily carried on when, as Mr. Young pictures the future of this effort, units will be established in the leading universities of all the world-powers.

A quarter of a million dollars has been set aside by Mr. Bernard M. Baruch, former chairman of the War Industries Board, to be administered by the Page School in finding a way to "take the profit out of war." The gift is to insure comprehensive research on this specific inquiry, which is to determine the value of mobilized industries, as well as man power, in case of war, and as a factor in preserving peace. The devotion of the earnings of industry to war would "take the profit out of war" and so remove the economic incentive to jingoism at home or aggression abroad. With this point of view, shared by Mr. Baruch and Mr. Young, Gen. John J. Pershing is in entire accord.

Mr. Baruch advocates government control, even in peace time, of distribution of raw materials, and ultimately of prices.

Mr. Sherwood concludes his article with a further statement by Mr. Young:

"No good will come of dealing with new international problems in the newspaper headlines and in inflammatory political statements. We only create trouble for ourselves and the world if we do. The thing to do with such problems is to get down and study them, soundly and sensibly, day after day and year after year, until we find some way of working them out. And inasmuch as we ourselves cannot take account of all the facts, we must develop some non-political, non-partisan agency for the investigation and discovery of the actual facts. Let us secure the necessary machinery and prepare a real basis for lasting peace."

THE NEW BOOKS

Outstanding Offerings of the Season

The Unreformed Senate of Canada. By Robert A. Mackay. Oxford: University Press. 300 pp.

This summer's developments in Canada are bringing to the fore many questions relating to the governmental structure of our Northern neighbor. The place of the second chamber in the government scheme of the dominion has been a problem in that country from the day it was organized. Professor Mackay made a thorough examination of the whole subject and his book is likely to be relied upon by men of all parties as an accurate statement of what the Senate can do and has done in relation to Canadian interests. The author has made his book interesting to outsiders as well as to Canadians themselves.

The Acquisition and Government of Backward Territory in International Law. By M. F. Lindley. Longmans, Green and Company. 411 pp.

Lest American readers may be more or less in doubt as to the meaning of the term "backward territory," it may be well to state that the author himself does not try to define this term. He admits that it is a relative one and as civilization advances it may cease to apply to territory which may be said to-day to be included within it. This book is simply a treatise on the law and practice relating to colonial expansion from the British standpoint. It gives in many instances an insight into the policies and principles that have guided the greatest among modern colonial powers.

The Pageant of America. Vol. V. The Epic of Industry. By Malcolm Keir. 330 pp. Vol. XI.—The American Spirit in Letters. By Stanley Thomas Williams. 330 pp. Vol. XIII.—The American Spirit in Architecture. By Talbot Faulkner Hamlin. 352 pp. New Haven: Yale University Press. Ill.

The appearance of two volumes in the remarkable series entitled "The Pageant of America" was briefly noted in our May number. Since that time three more volumes have been issued which confirm our first impressions of this work as a unique enterprise in depicting American life. Of the five volumes thus far issued, perhaps the most unusual in range and content is the one devoted to American industry. In the portraits and scenes here reproduced, one may trace the industrial progress of the nation from the days of homespun and domestic artisanship to the present era of giant power and large-scale manufacturing. Personalities, inventions, processes, are all pictured here as never before in a work of similar scope. "The American Spirit in Letters" covers somewhat more familiar ground, it is true, but the author and those who have assisted him in the gathering of illustrations have gone far afield in the

search for authentic materials relating to practically every American author of more than local fame. "The American Spirit in Architecture" is a book quite unprecedented in the variety and range of its illustrations. One finds here reproductions of typical specimens of architecture in every period of American history, and in the selection of these quite as much attention has been paid to domestic types as to public and ecclesiastic buildings. This series of pictures, with running comment supplied by the author, forms indeed a new and distinctive contribution to American history.

The Abundant Life. By Benjamin Ide Wheeler. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press. 385 pp. Ill.

This is a wonderfully illuminating selection from the writings and public addresses of Dr. Wheeler during the period of his presidency of the University of California (1899-1910). The selection includes commencement addresses, talks to students, discussions of international affairs, education, citizenship, and a number of unusually apt characterizations of public men.

Jefferson. By Albert Jay Nock. Harcourt, Brace and Company. 340 pp. Ill.

One hundred years after his death Thomas Jefferson is still an intensely "live" subject in our literature. Only a few months ago appeared a brilliant study of Jefferson and Hamilton by Claude G. Bowers. Now comes an equally brilliant study of Jefferson by Albert Jay Nock. Opinions differ as to the comparative value of the various biographies of Jefferson, but Mr. Nock at once eliminates himself from the contest by disclaiming any attempt to be Jefferson's biographer. He does not intend to have his book regarded as a biography, nor does he expect to have it take the place of one. He aptly describes it as a study in conduct and character and for that very reason he leaves out of account much biographical material that is otherwise most valuable but, in Mr. Nock's view, contributes nothing to his immediate purpose. Thus, there is only scant allusion in his pages to the Declaration of Independence, which Jefferson himself, and his countrymen from that day to this have agreed in estimating as one of the prime achievements of his career. Much else which Jefferson did or in which he had great part is ignored in this book, and we can well afford to forgive the omission because of the admirable use Mr. Nock has made of other facts which have a direct bearing on his chief purpose in writing. Jefferson, the politician and statesman, has possibly been overdone by his biographers to the neglect of other phases in a wonderfully many-sided life. After we have read what Mr. Nock has to say about Jefferson as a student at college, as a lawyer, farmer, architect, builder, mathematician, natural scientist, traveler, educator, classical

scholar and diplomat, we cannot help wondering at times whether, after all, Jefferson had any time left for politics. At any rate, Mr. Nock has pictured the man for us as he was never pictured in the school histories, and he has unlocked for us some of the chambers of a marvelously active and fruitful mind. Among all his contemporaries, Franklin alone—a very much older man—seems comparable with Jefferson in the range and incessant activity of his mental equipment.

The Best Letters of Thomas Jefferson. Selected and edited by J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton. Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 315 pp.

We are indebted to Professor Hamilton, of the University of North Carolina, for an excellent selection of Jefferson's letters. Such a work was needed because of the very volume of correspondence of a man who was noted in his own time as a prolific and stimulating letter-writer in a day when everyone wrote more frequently and more fully than is the practice now. Professor Hamilton did well to include in his selection the letters written to John Adams in the years when both men were renewing, in old age, a friendship that began with the birth of the republic and only ended on that July 4, one hundred years ago, when Adams was preceded in death for a few hours by Jefferson, whom he had thought of as his survivor.

Ranching with Roosevelt. By Lincoln A. Lang. 367 pp. Ill. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.

Roosevelt's experiences as a rancher in the Dakota "Bad Lands" are here related by a member of the small band of those "old-timers" who first knew the young "tenderfoot" from New York when he came out to that wild country to try his fortunes in a new and unfamiliar life. Mr. Lang's recollections are not lacking in humor or vividness. The story in the main is the confirmation of what Roosevelt himself has written of those days.

Pursuing the Whale. By John A. Cook. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 354 pp. Ill.

An account of the business of whaling from the standpoint of one of the few remaining captains. Most of those who have written whaling stories ceased from their activities long since, but Captain Cook did not close his career at sea until 1916, although he began it as early as 1868. In that period of forty-eight years he saw the decline of the American whaling industry, but as Allan Forbes remarks in the introduction, although the whaling days are gone, the romance is left and such a book as "Pursuing the Whale" will do much to keep that romance alive among us.

FICTION FOR AUGUST

THE wisest college professor takes E. Phillips Oppenheim's latest with him to Cape Cod; the President of the Woman's Club escapes from her home town with an Ethel M. Dell in her suitcase. We know, rather intimately, an editor who rarely sets out on one of his frequent trips to Washington without a "thriller" along.

Both the book publishers and the critics know this human failing well, and along with the regular literary outpourings come lists of books for summer reading that are both long and light. In the old days these books would have been called "hammock reading," but John Farrar points out that those days have "indubitably departed when three such different demigods as Sherwood Anderson, John Galsworthy and May Sinclair choose the season of sports clothes and incipient hay-fever in which to publish their latest works." So we, too, while naming mostly the hot-weather kind, will include a few titles for those who like their literature serious all the year round.

Anderson's "Tar" (Boni & Liveright), which will appear shortly, is a tale of mid-western childhood. "The Silver Spoon" (Scribner), Galsworthy's latest chapter in the Forsyte Saga, has been treated with the usual respect by the critics. Soames Forsyte, it is conceded, is again the outstanding character. Macmillan is publishing Miss Sinclair's "Far End," for which her usual discriminating public are probably now sharpening their perceptions.

To begin on the list of summer reading specials: Sinclair Lewis in holiday mood has published a story, "Mantrap" (Harcourt), which might almost have been written by one of our regular novelists of the open spaces. It is a tale of the North woods



PLEASURES OF SUMMER READING AS SEEN
BY THE COVER ARTIST OF
"BOOK NOTES"

that is—according to William Lyon Phelps, the book prophet of New Haven,—good meat for the movies. Joseph C. Lincoln tells of a lost heiress in "Medusa's Head" (Appleton) and it may be that you have not read his recently published "The Big Mogul" (Appleton). William Locke, in "Perella" (Dodd, Mead) tells the tale of an English girl art student in Florence. Florence reminds us that Sabatini has a new book, a particularly excellent tale, called "Bellarion" (Houghton) with a student-soldier of Renaissance days for hero. Peter B. Kyne's newest is again laid in northern California, and is called "The Understanding Heart" (Cosmopolitan).

Adventure and Mystery Stories

First among all recent books of adventure for those who devoured his "Beau Geste" will be Percival Wren's "Beau Sabreur." Edward Fitch Hall says it produces even more impossible events, with an even more vivid sense of actuality.

E. Phillips Oppenheim has deserted the field of international intrigue in the "Prodigals of Mont Carlo" (Little, Brown) but this does not mean that he relinquishes his skill in story-telling. His "Golden Beast," as real a mystery story as one could want, is also a recent issue. Its plot is called original and exciting by the authorities.

This brings us to mystery stories proper. There are an endless number of more than average good ones, not to mention the rafts of mediocre and actively poor ones which line the Bookshop tables seven deep. We would recommend that you look for the trademark of a well-known maker: Ben Ames Williams, for example, enhances his reputation in a story of the Maine woods, with six snow-bound persons and one dead man for *dramatis personæ*. "The Smoking Leg" (Doubleday) by John Metcalfe, and Gerald Bullett's "Baker's Cart and Other Tales" (Doubleday) are two short-story collections for those who like to have their feelings really harrowed. Louis Joseph Vance's "The Dead Ride Hard" (Lippincott) should need no recommendation other than its title. Mrs. A. M. Williamson's "Black Incense" (Doran) is an adroit tale of Monte Carlo. Eden Philpotts' "Jig-saw" (Macmillan) will be read by us because of our faith in him since "The Grey Room." Arthur Machen's "The Canning Wonder" (Knopf) has been mentioned in these pages before; so has Frank Heller's "Strange Adventures of Mr. Collin" (Crowell).

Grove Wilson and Frank Maurice, in "Sport of the Gods" accomplish the impossible—an engrossing mystery story told from an entirely new angle. "The Double Thirteen" by Anthony Wynne (Lippincott) is worthy of the author's reputation as a contriver of thrills. Dual personality we must have, and here it is in C. Nina Boyle's enthralling "Stranger Within the Gates" (Seltzer). Lest you should have no story of a hero's gallant battle against villains out to bankrupt him and his ranch, pack Homer King Gordon's "Code of Men" (Crowell) in your bag.

Various Novels of Importance

Many and fascinating are the first whispers about E. R. Eddison's "The Worm Ouroboros" (A. & C. Boni) which is "an eerie romance of the planet

Mercury written in flowing," highly imaginative English," says the *International Book Review*.

A summer novel which commands attention because it is engrossing reading, and yet finds its way onto lists of probable survivors of the test of time, is Edna Ferber's "Show Boat" (Doubleday) which John Farrar suspects will repeat the success of "So Big." Dorothy Canfield, also, has a novel to help us prove our contention that this season's offering is a notable one. "Her Son's Wife" (Harcourt, Brace) is the reason for many difficulties.

"Sounding Brass" (Duffield) is a realistic story of the advertising world by another of those remarkable twenty-five-year-old English women.

More in Lighter Vein

Charm and humor in an amiable love story mark E. Temple Thurston's "Mr. Bottleby Does Something" (Doran). With a headstart on it, however, is Susan Ertz's "After Noon" (Appleton), which has been among the best-sellers for weeks; perhaps not as distinguished as "Madame Claire," the *New York Times* says, but more enjoyable, it is a sympathetic interpretation of middle-aged romance with some nice young people thrown in.

"Sorrell and Son" by Warwick Deeping (Knopf) is an original and moving story that has won praise from the critics and many, many readers. Kathleen Norris' "Black Flemings" has been almost as popular with the public, and less so with the critics, who find it a bit too glamorous. Floyd Dell's "Love in Greenwich Village" (Doran) is, naturally, with that title, exceedingly popular. It is composed of gay, yet wistful tales of the Bohemia so hard to find in Greenwich Village to-day. "Hangman's House" (Century) by Donn Byrne is "pure romance of an old-fashioned but enduring type," says the *International Book Review*; need we add that its scene is Irish.

Not Really Fiction

Turning to a different type of summer fare, "Ranching with Roosevelt," by Lincoln A. Lang (Lippincott), of which notice is made on the preceding page, is perfect summer reading for all who delight in cowboy epics and in tales of the undaunted, bespectacled young Teddy. "The Saga of Billy the Kid" is a biography of that redoubtable criminal by Walter Burns (Doubleday) which even H. L. Mencken has praised. The "true spirit of the six-gun west" lives in Will James' "Smoky: the Story of a Cow Pony" (Scribner), which is Will James at his best. John Buchan's "The Last Secrets" is an account of modern adventurers that should enthrall old and young alike. We are getting positively sensitive about reminding our readers of William Beebe's "Auctarus Adventure" (Putnam), but we cannot bear to have it missed.

Assuming that you have read Lardner's "Love Nest" and Milt Gross' "Nize Baby," we recommend, in that particular field, Donald Ogden Stewart as the able guide of the Haddocks, who have finally arrived in Paris. Stephen Leacock's latest, "Winnowed Wisdom" (Dodd, Mead) is satire at its broadest, quite up to the usual standard, if quite similar to, the rest of the eminent McGill professor's works.

The
Unc

TER
\$5.00.
Depar
check
to av